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THE

# CHRONOLOGICAL PROPHECIES;

AS CONSTITUTING A

## CONNECTED SYSTEM

IN WHICH THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE DIVINE DISPENSATIONS ARE
DETERMINED BY THE PRECISE REVELATION
OF THEIR DATES;

DEMONSTRATED IN

## A SERIES OF LECTURES

DELIVERED IN THE CHAPEL OF

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF LINCOLN'S INN

IN THE YEARS 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836

ON THE FOUNDATION OF

THE LATE BISHOP WARBURTON,

BY

FREDERICK NOLAN, LL.D. F.R.S. M.R.S.L.

VICAR OF PRITTLEWELL, ESSEX.

LONDON:
WILLIAM PICKERING,
1837.

869.

C. WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT,
CHANCERY LANE.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND WILLIAM

(BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE)

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN,

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

On the possibility of fixing a chronological scale, in the ancient cycles; which would bring demonstrative evidence to the intervals, by which the course of time was measured: I have been frequently indulged by your Grace with a patient, and I venture to believe, a favourable hearing. In the course of Lectures, which I was chosen to deliver, by your appointment and recommendation, the principle, which I believe adequate to the purpose, is so far reduced to practice, that judgment may be passed on its feasibility. I now approach your Grace, with the result of my labors; and I

beg to offer them, if not as an evidence of the zeal with which the trust committed to me has been discharged, as testifying the grateful sense under which it was accepted.

Whatever be the feeling, with which the offering is received, I will venture to hope, that in the particular form, in which my views are now embodied; the principle derives, from the subject to which it is applied, that interest and importance which may give it some claim to attention. The determination of the epochs of the Assyrian or Egyptian chronology, by the genethliacal or canicular cycle, have but a secondary recommendation; as the result brings confirmation to the sacred records, or leads to the subversion of speculative systems, by which they would be opposed or controverted. But in the establishment of the dates of Prophecy by the sabbatical cycle: as tending to the establishment of our faith, by a new and demonstrative species of evidence; the highest interests of humanity are promoted, in the confirmation which is brought to Revealed Religion.

The principle, which I venture to submit, with these claims to your Grace, I am fully aware, must derive its chief recommendation

from its practical effect and utility. But the range and nature of its application may, I hope entitle it to a favorable consideration, as lightening the pains of inquiry into its pretensions. As the great scheme of divine providence, for the recovery of mankind from the curse of sin and sorrow, is progressively submitted, in the course of discussion, to the chronological test; the scene which passes in review is arrayed in all that is calculated to attract or fix attention, from being great and glorious. It is generally allowed, that a purely sabbatical tendency is manifest in the end purposed in his dispensation by the Deity; who has bound himself under the most solemn obligation to lead his elect people into a holy rest. And it may be easily proved, that the same character pervades the entire system of his providence, from the first revelation of his gracious purpose. In the bare statement of these subjects, a sufficient inducement is offered to stimulate inquiry into their reality, however they may be deemed incapable of strict demonstration. And if, as the subjoined work professes to prove, the pervading principle, which gives this sabbatical character to the entire system of Revelation, furnishes in the cycles, by which the festivals

were ordered, and the principal epochs determined a graduated scale, whereby the CHRONOLOGICAL PROPHECIES admit of establishment in their circumstances and dates: beyond the statement of this object, it must be not merely needless, but presumptuous, to offer a word in its recommendation.

The object thus proposed in the developement of a system,—wherein the Omnipotent himself must be regarded as the agent, and man's restoration to eternal happiness the end to be effected,—must indeed suffer, under any effort to do it justice. In committing it without further comment to your Grace; I trust the solemnity of the subject, with the importance of which I am fully impressed, however inadequate to express my sense of it, will at least shelter me from the imputation of insincerity, in the declaration with which I commend it to your protection. As your Grace's exalted station and eminent qualifications confer every title to decide upon its pretensions; whatever reason I may have to apprehend the decision of such a judge, I have the most confident reliance upon his kindness. Those to whom your Grace is known, although they may condemn my temerity, will not

question my judgment in adding,—that, as I know no judge on whose decision I could with equal confidence rely, there is none to whose sentence I shall submit with such cheerful acquiescence.

My Lord,

I have the honor to be

Your Grace's

Most obliged, obedient, humble Servant,

FREDERICK NOLAN.

# PREFACE.

THE main pillars of the Christian Faith which have been rested in Miracles and Prophecy, have suffered so extensively from the designing and deluded; that every effort to rescue them from the pollution of the rude and unhallowed hands by which they have been assailed must be entitled to approbation. The opposite parties, popish or puritanical,—between which the adherents of sound and rational religion are placed,—actuated by an assumed or misguided zeal, have shaken them to the foundation. While the formalist, on the one hand, sustains an usurped authority by false miracles; the fanatic on the other, supports his spiritual pretences, by lying prophecy. By the imposture and illusion, on either side, it is unavoidable, that the miraculous powers and divine inspiration should be brought into disrepute, by which our faith is established. As no discriminating or reflecting mind can be influenced by the evidence, which enables the fanatic to deceive himself and the hypocrite to impose upon others; it is left no resource from the bondage in which the uninformed and un-

suspecting are enslaved, but to seek refuge in hardened and contemptuous infidelity.

Under either description a large class of expositors may be reduced, who undertake the interpretation of the prophetical writings, without a solitary qualification to fit them for the office. Unversed in the opinions, customs and antiquities of earlier ages, and unacquainted with the language of the writer, whom they pretend to interpret, it can be little matter of surprise that they should mistake his meaning. If they do not succeed in the evil purpose of perverting what they are unable to comprehend, it is often to be imputed to the want of power rather than of inclination. Little content with the endeavour to mistate their author's views, by wresting his words into a description of some trivial and recent occurrence; they humbly take upon themselves the office of prophets, and profanely deduce, from the sacred oracles, authority for their dreams of the past and their visions of the future. Making the language of inspiration a vehicle for disseminating their revolutionary and levelling principles; they labour to produce "the crisis" which they desire and predict, by representing it as intended: and while they pretend to diffuse a religion of peace, sound the trumpet of sedition.

It is only reasonable to conclude, that the method of misinterpretation, under which these illusory or pernicious purposes are effected, de-

pends for its success upon the loosest analogies. By the employment of such vague and forced resemblances, infidels have found little difficulty in sapping the foundation of all Revelation; having undertaken to shew that religion and superstition have a common basis in traditionary error. Nor can it be disproved, that those conclusions, which are brought out by similar methods of proof, are attended with equal force of conviction.

Unless when thus grossly perverted and misapplied, the system of Prophecy has been so wisely constituted, as to furnish the means within itself whereby the purposes of those weak or wicked empirics may be defeated. By its unerring authority, the succession of those great empires has been determined, through which the sovereignty of the earth has been transmitted, and which are generally known as the four prophetical monarchies. But what falls more immediately within my province to insist upon; in the prophecies usually termed chronological, a series of dates is established, by which the application of the predictions to the events chosen at the will or caprice of the expositor is for ever precluded. By the landmarks thus fixed, a line of demarcation is drawn, which cannot be transgressed, without involving the guide and his followers in irretrievable perplexity and error.

It might be almost determined *a fortiori*, that Prophecy, in establishing its claims to inspira-

tion, would have revealed the great revolutions, of which this earth was destined to be the scene of action. In order to preclude the possibility, as far as was consistent with the moral freedom of man, that the anticipation of future events should be perverted to favour the schemes of the ambitious and designing: care was providentially taken, in the delivery of the revelation, that the changes predicted should not only be upon a scale which would require more than ordinary means to effect them, but be defined by such circumstances of time and place as would render them impossible to be wilfully mistaken. The foresight of the prophet was consequently directed only to those vast political changes, in which the establishment of universal empire would be attempted. Under these provisions, the destiny of the four great monarchies was revealed; the expectation of a subsequent, of the same character, being obviated by the express prediction, that a fifth would arise, with the extent and permanence of which all further assumption of universal sway would be inconsistent. Other and subordinate changes were indeed foreshewn, but as of a moral rather than a political nature, they were calculated to afford no pretext to the revolutionist in his schemes of interest or ambition: which, though qualified to extend the dominion of "the prince of this world," are subversive of his authority who has declared, that his "kingdom is *not* of this world."

of providence, which Prophecy served to develop, as deduced from the Patriarchal times and extending through the Mosaic, have been the subject of specific revelations, which may be measured by those periods. It thus becomes possible to prove, to a demonstrative certainty, that the event foretold occurred at the exact crisis which had been predicted.

Such is the object which is proposed in the subjoined discourses, and on the success or failure in which, all claims to that originality, to which they may pretend, must be determined. The fulness with which the author has expressed himself, in the opening and at the close of the work, will sufficiently plead his excuse in referring to those parts of his disquisitions, for a full account of the scope and distribution of his subject. Whatever may be deemed necessary for the further explanation or recommendation of his work; he is at least convinced, that it could gain nothing by his entering in this place into vain and unnecessary repetitions.

cession of light which might be hoped from a mind of no ordinary powers and acumen. The lamented author in his conversations and correspondence had encouraged expectations of success, which had they been realised, no room would have been left for the following essays, in which that is attempted which he left unaccomplished. By some insurmountable obstacle, which opposed the attainment of an object which had been so long promised and impatiently desired; the work was delayed, until declining health aggravated the difficulty which had impeded its progress: and with his death, which was the more to be lamented as it was premature, the hope which he had excited expired. The author of these observations, retains sufficient remembrance of a long conversation, to which he was admitted, with a prelate by whose friendship he was honored and whose loss he sincerely deplores; in which he thinks he discerns the cause of the delay which so long prevented the submission of his views to the public. His hypothesis was framed upon the supposition, that the middle of the last of "the seventy weeks" might be identified with the time of the crucifixion. In the particular form which it assumed, it became necessary that the epoch of the nativity should be thrown back, beyond the time at which it is now fixed, by the most indisputable chronological characters; and consequently, in

of providence, which Prophecy served to develop, as deduced from the Patriarchal times and extending through the Mosaic, have been the subject of specific revelations, which may be measured by those periods. It thus becomes possible to prove, to a demonstrative certainty, that the event foretold occurred at the exact crisis which had been predicted.

Such is the object which is proposed in the subjoined discourses, and on the success or failure in which, all claims to that originality, to which they may pretend, must be determined. The fulness with which the author has expressed himself, in the opening and at the close of the work, will sufficiently plead his excuse in referring to those parts of his disquisitions, for a full account of the scope and distribution of his subject. Whatever may be deemed necessary for the further explanation or recommendation of his work; he is at least convinced, that it could gain nothing by his entering in this place into vain and unnecessary repetitions.

which results are obtained, that eluded the skill of those who though possessed of greater expertness, employed ruder implements; the reader who feels any interest in the subject, must be referred to the observations subjoined to the following discourses. In justification of the promise, which (the author conceives) they offer of success, hitherto unattained, a few observations will discharge his immediate obligations to the reader.

Of the mode of computing the course of time, by sabbatical cycles, manifest traces exist, in the history of the Patriarchal ages. The fullest evidence, however, may be drawn from the Mosaic Dispensation; under which the testimony of Prophecy was delivered, and according to the course of which it was distributed. The whole of the festivals under the Levitical Law, by the returns of which the progress of time was marked, were ordered by the revolutions of septenary periods. From the appointment of the sabbath to the institution of the jubilee, the sabbatical character of the dispensation discloses itself, in the times consecrated to religious observance. The connexion being thus established between the lapse of time, and the return of the festivals; in the cycles by which they were ordered a scale is supplied, by which the predictions, properly chronological, may be verified on demonstrable principles. All the leading events, in the system

of providence, which Prophecy served to develop, as deduced from the Patriarchal times and extending through the Mosaic, have been the subject of specific revelations, which may be measured by those periods. It thus becomes possible to prove, to a demonstrative certainty, that the event foretold occurred at the exact crisis which had been predicted.

Such is the object which is proposed in the subjoined discourses, and on the success or failure in which, all claims to that originality, to which they may pretend, must be determined. The fulness with which the author has expressed himself, in the opening and at the close of the work, will sufficiently plead his excuse in referring to those parts of his disquisitions, for a full account of the scope and distribution of his subject. Whatever may be deemed necessary for the further explanation or recommendation of his work; he is at least convinced, that it could gain nothing by his entering in this place into vain and unnecessary repetitions.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL SCALE.

## MILLENNIUM I.

| A. M. | | B. C. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Sunday, Oct. 23rd. Creation commences from the preceding evening. Saturday, 29th. Sabbath instituted. | 4004 |
| 5 | Sunday, Oct. 24th. Series of Sabbatical years, and Great Sabbatical Period of 2555 years commence with this epoch. The death of Adam and translation of Enoch happen near the close of the Millennium. | 3999 |

## MILLENNIUM II.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1000 | The sons of Seth, seduced by the daughters of Cain, begin to apostatize. | 3004 |
| 1056 | Noah born. Descent of the Watchers. Total defection of the sons of Seth. | 2948 |
| 1656 | Dec. 3rd. Deluge. | 2348 |
| 1726 | The Assyrian, or first of the Prophetical Monarchies founded by Ninus. | 2278 |

## MILLENNIUM III.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2000 | Abram born; under whom the period of the Unwritten Law commences. | 2004 |
| 2075 | Call of Abram, and departure from Ur. | 1929 |
| 2082 | Thursday, April 22nd. Abram receives the Promise, and departs from Charan: the period of 430 years to the delivery of the Law commences. | 1822 |
| 2112 | The nonage of Isaac ends: the period of 400 years to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt commences. | 1892 |
| 2512 | Thursday, April 24th. The departure of the Israelites from Egypt: period of 400 years from the nonage of Isaac ends: the series of sabbatical years and jubilees computed from the preceding autumn. | 1492 |

| A. M. | | B. C. |
|---|---|---|
| 2560 | The Israelites enter the promised rest in Canaan: the Great Sabbatical Period of 2555 years ends: and the Great Period of 1440 years commences, as observed by the Chaldees and Persians. | 1444 |

## MILLENNIUM IV.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3000 | Oct. 30th. The Temple of Jerusalem dedicated by Solomon: the Shechinah appears in the Holy of Holies. | 1004 |
| 3029 | Thursday, Nov. 4th. The Golden Calves erected by Jeroboam: the defection of Israel; Ezekiel's prophecy of 390 years commences. | 975 |
| 3262 | Isaiah's prophecy of 16 and 5 years foretelling the captivity of Israel commences. | 742 |
| 3278 | The period of 16 years foretold by Isaiah ends: that of 5 years commences. | 726 |
| 3280 | Fall of Moab: Israel overrun by the Assyrians: middle of the Great Period of 1440 years. | 724 |
| 3283 | The last period of 5 years foretold by Isaiah ends: Israel led into captivity. | 721 |
| 3380 | Josiah's reform of the national religion; the defection of Judah; Ezekiel's prophecy of 40 years commences. | 624 |
| 3398 | The Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Syria: the period of 70 years' captivity, foretold by Jeremiah, commences. | 606 |
| 3405 | Captivity under Jehoiachin: epoch from whence the prophecies of Ezekiel are computed: Daniel's period of 1335 years commences. | 599 |
| 3420 | Last deportation of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar: end of the periods of 390 and 40 years, foretold by Ezekiel. | 584 |
| 3450 | Daniel's prophecy of the profanation of the Temple, for 2300 evenings and mornings, delivered. | 554 |
| 3466 | July 9th. Fall of Babylon; end of the first of the Prophetical empires, and rise of the second or Persian. Daniel delivers his prophecy of the 70 weeks. | 538 |

| A. M. | | B. C. |
|---|---|---|
| 3468 | Cyrus succeeds to the empire of the East. Jeremiah's prophecy of the 70 years' captivity accomplished. | 536 |
| 3547 | March 25th. Return from Babylon, and restoration of the Jewish Polity under Ezra. The 70 weeks, foretold by Daniel, commence. The Great Paschal Cycle of the Jews computed from this epoch. | 457 |
| 3596 | The first division of the 70 weeks, foretold by Daniel, terminates. The order of Prophets cease; and are succeeded by the men of the Synagogue. | 408 |
| 3674 | Fall of Babylon before the arms of Alexander; end of the second and commencement of the Greek, or third of the Prophetical Empires. | 330 |
| 3700 | Commencement of the period of 2300 years, to the fall of Antichrist and cleansing of the Sanctuary. | 304 |
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| 3839 | Dec. 12th. Purification of the Temple: prophecy of 2300 evenings and mornings accomplished. | 165 |
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## MILLENNIUM V.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4000 | Feb. 3rd. Presentation, in the person of Jesus, of God manifest in the flesh, in the Temple; Great Period of 1440 years observed by the Chaldees and Persians ends: the Magians, having come from the East to Jerusalem, adore the infant Messiah. | 4 |
| | | A. D. |
| 4030 | Second period of Daniel's 70 weeks ends; the last week commences. Baptism of Christ. Pilate enters on the government of Judea. | 27 |

mended itself by the evidence with which it was miraculously confirmed; while to us, from whom this mode of attestation is withdrawn, it commends itself, not less forcibly, by the certainty of the events, in which it has been accomplished. In each of these methods, the certainty of the divine interposition is, in fact, no less adequately established; however widely they may appear to differ, in the manner in which they operate on our conviction. If the miraculous power, to which the divine legate appealed in attestation of his authority, proved the immediate intervention of the Deity in a former age; the prophetic spirit, which the accomplishment of what he uttered proves him to have possessed, proclaims it not less clearly in the present. Such appear to the inquirers into the grounds of Revelation, to be the main pillars on which our Faith is properly supported. To such evidence, it is conceived, the Apostle alludes, in representing it as susceptible of proof, from "the demonstration of Wisdom and Power;"* these being the divine attributes which particularly manifested themselves, in the preternatural evidence, afforded to our Holy Religion, in Inspiration and Miracles.

Of these different species of evidence by which our faith is influenced, the former, as displayed

* 1 Cor. ii. 4.

in the prophetical writings, claims my immediate attention. On the particular object of the course, to which my present observations are introductory, it must be superfluous to enlarge, after the discussions of the many able and learned divines, who have preceded me in my present office. The part to which I am pledged will be most effectually discharged, in offering the few preliminary remarks, which are necessary to the explanation of my own views and purposes; and on the justness of which the selection and distribution of the subject, which I have chosen for discussion, is properly founded.

In entering, with this view, on the consideration of Prophecy, as constituting a body of evidence calculated to operate on our conviction; I cannot approach the subject, without expressing some apprehension for the result, before my present auditory; who from that nice discrimination, which constant exercise renders more keen, are peculiarly qualified for the detection of what is false in principle and fallacious in deduction. When, indeed, I regard the difficulties, with which the undertaking in which I am embarked is beset; I feel the necessity of summoning all the resolution, which the consciousness of the nature and strength of my cause is calculated to inspire. And such is indeed, the nature of the subject, to which I have undertaken to bespeak attention, that when

it is once declared, no labor of proof will be necessary to shew, that the power of human utterance is incapable of adding any thing to its dignity or importance. If Prophecy, in the claims which it prefers to our attention, admit of establishment; no feebleness in the manner in which they are advanced, can diminish our obligation to admit them. If it bear, in the nature of the communication made to us, evidence of the source from whence it proceeds; as it addresses us in the voice of God Himself, no course remains to us, but that followed by the prophet, to answer in reverence and submission, "Speak, Lord, thy servant heareth." * And his part who would vindicate to it this character, will be fully discharged, who barely enumerates the qualities by which the claim may be most clearly established.

I. In entering upon this office, the safest course, as the most becoming, is to attend to the suggestions of scripture, and to pursue the clue which it prescribes. As inducements have existed in all ages, to lead the interested and the deluded to affect an immediate communication with the Divinity; it was expedient, from the first,—that the inexperienced might not be misled by the arts of the hypocrite, or errors of the enthusiast,—to supply them with a test,

* 1 Sam. iii. 9.

by which their pretensions might be fully estimated. The rule which is laid down, for this purpose, in the sacred oracles, is as easy to be comprehended as applied. "If thou say in thy heart, how shall we know the word which the Lord hath spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously." * This rule, which is delivered with great circumspection and prudence, it is obvious, goes merely to the extent of proposing a test, by which the claim to inspiration may be negatived; and not a criterion by which it may be confirmed. It plainly implies, that the deliverance of a prediction was necessary to give proof of a prophetical mission: and from the numberless chances which were likely to concur in baffling the foresight of the most perspicacious diviner; it seems almost inevitable, that the event would refute the prognostication, which was delivered with no higher authority, and expose the presumption of the pretender.

But it cannot be inferred from this rule of scripture, that its converse holds equally good. Although the claim to a prophetical spirit and mission is disproved by the failure of a predic-

* Deut. xvii. 21, 22.

tion; from its accomplishment, we cannot directly conclude, that the pretensions of its author are necessarily confirmed. Should the event predicted be even of such a description as natural sagacity appears generally incompetent to foretell; there is but a presumption that it has proceeded from preternatural foresight. To secure us against the contingency, that chance or conjecture may not have contributed to the accomplishment or anticipation of the event; it seems necessary that such particulars as lie beyond their reach should be included in the prediction. In proportion as it combines these qualities, among which the specification of time, place, and circumstances, may be distinguished; it acquires that descriptive precision, which, as unattainable by any ordinary and inherent faculty of the mind, must be referred to some extraordinary and acquired powers, and be thus recognized as supernatural, or divinely imparted.

1. In proceeding to investigate the qualities, by which the claims of a prediction, professing to be derived from inspiration, may be maintained; the importance of the end, for which the revelation is made, cannot be reasonably excluded from the criteria, whereby that character is established. The principle, by which it is admitted, that the pretension to miracles should be tried, furnishes a test of equal effect in judg-

ing of prophecy. If as we observe, the course of nature is committed, by its omniscient author, for wise and adequate reasons to established laws; —who has given to the sea his decree, "prepared the light and the sun," and prescribed their vicissitudes to the seasons,—it is not to be supposed, that he will interpose to reverse or suspend them, unless for great and necessary causes. By those who have made her secrets their study, it is generally observed, that she does nothing in vain; nor is it disputed, that the order which she preserves is of the divine appointment. As the Divinity has deemed fit, in the ordinary course of his providence, to adopt this principle; if we may judge of his operations by the rule of analogy it seems reasonable to infer, he will equally observe it in the extraordinary. So consonant does this reasoning appear to be to the first principles acknowledged by the human mind; that even to pagan wisdom it seemed incongruous, that the Deity should be introduced, unless when the importance of the occasion, the *dignus vindice nodus*, justified his interposition. What the light of nature thus served to point out, is abundantly confirmed by the voice of revelation. On reviewing the subjects of the predictions in the entire prophetical scheme, the events which they embrace are rarely if ever found to be of less importance than the destiny of nations: while they tend to one vast and ultimate object, in which

the interests of the whole human species are comprehended.

In the instance to which the text alludes, this observation is confirmed and illustrated. The reformation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah is there recognised, as the great object of the divine care, in the communications imparted, "by all the prophets, and all the seers."*

That those great national revolutions should furnish adequate grounds for engaging the divine intervention, will readily appear, when their moral causes and consequences are for a moment considered. If God is recognised as the moral governor of the earth, as the observation of his works, and the consideration of his attributes enable us to discover; he must be pleased by our reverence of those natural principles of right and wrong, which he has given us for our direction, as he must be offended by their wilful infraction. If it be supposed, that he takes any concern, in his works,—as cannot be reasonably doubted by those who admit, that all things exist and are preserved by his power;—he cannot but be dishonored, by every act by which they are abused, or perverted from what he intended. And as he has promulgated a righteous law, with the sanction of rewards and punishments to ensure its observance; his justice, not less than his authority, are implicated in carrying it into

* 2 Kings, xvii. 13.

execution. While in sustaining his prerogative, as a governor and judge, his character is thus engaged, to carry what he has promised or denounced into effect; he has been graciously pleased to manifest it in declarations of forbearance and mercy, with a further view to the moral reformation of those who rejected his proffered terms. In this view he is exhibited in the text, which, in stating the express object with which the prophets were deputed on their mission, gives us this further insight into the criteria for estimating the pretensions of those who lay claim to inspiration. "Yet the Lord testified against Israel and against Judah, by all the prophets, and by all the seers, saying, Turn ye from your evil ways, and keep my commandments and my statutes, according to *all the law* which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets."*

2. While the importance of the object, professing to be revealed, is thus essential, to authorise us in supposing that the Deity at all interposes in any communication professing to be imparted by him; it, however, affords no direct criterion, whereby we may be enabled to determine his immediate intervention In the events, which are positively foretold, the proof of the prophetical mission and authority must be

* 2 Kings, xvii. 13.

sought; which will, in many instances, rise in its conclusiveness, in proportion to the circumstantial accuracy of the prediction. But of the evidence, which may be obtained of the prophetical character, perhaps the most certain is that which arises from the revelation of the exact time of the occurrence. A series of predictions, answering to this description, occupy no inconsiderable place in the prophetical part of the scriptures; which, as not merely specifying the circumstances of the events which they foretell, but as declaring the very *date* of their accomplishment are properly termed *chronological.*

In fulfilling the part, which I have been called to perform, it is my purpose to select, for illustration, the prophecies thus characterised, from the series of inspired compositions. Independent of the quality by which they are more eminently distinguished, they combine in them every qualification by which the prophetical character is sustained, and the claim to inspiration is established. As the limits prescribed to discussion, in this place, confine me to a selection; in the wide field which the subject of prophecy opens to investigation, I know not how the choice could admit of improvement.

II. Of the predictions distinguished as chronological, it is no less observable than of the general body of prophecy, that the events which they foreshew are of that magnitude and impor-

tance, that the fate of nations, the destiny of kingdoms, is involved in their accomplishment. As the entire prophetical scheme more particularly concerned the rival monarchies of Judah and Israel; the great political revolutions which they sustained are the subject of prophecies of the kind which I have chosen for discussion. During the time in which these kingdoms remained, the succession of inspired persons flourished, by whom those predictions were delivered. In discharging the office to which they were deputed, they not only declared the reverses, by which the national transgression would be visited, but determined the *time*, beyond which the visitation of God would not be protracted. And the important epochs, which they have thus determined, and from which they are designated, are not less remarkable for their coincidence with great moral than political revolutions. In the very time when they were uttered, they bear evidence to the superintendence of Him by whom they were inspired; of whose providence it was one object of prophecy to assert the existence and to declare the progress: the crisis chosen for their delivery being not less wonderfully adapted,—than that fixed for their accomplishment,—to the political and moral changes which they were intended to operate. At the critical time when they were delivered, the menaces which they conveyed, were calculated to avert

weaker of the conflicting parties was overthrown. When exhausted by this protracted struggle, the nation who remained victors, beheld a more bold and formidable rival arise in the Medes and Persians, by whom the sovereignty would be usurped, for which they had so long and obstinately contended; the restoration of the Jews to their former territories and independence under this new dynasty might be conjectured, by ordinary foresight or sagacity. As it was consistent with sound policy, thus to re-establish a nation, who were the inveterate foes of the Babylonians, and who might act as a check upon their ambition, on that side of their territories, which was least accessible to the arms of the dominant power; it was probable that the Jews, in the prosecution of these measures, might recover their independence, and be reinstated in their dominions. It might be even conjectured, that these revolutions in the civil state of the Jews would have a dependence on their moral condition; and that the crisis of their subjugation and captivity would be coincident with the time of their greatest corruption; and the event of their restoration be consequent to the period of their amendment. For it was but reasonable to conclude, that when enervated by vice, they would be less qualified to withstand the incursions of the people, by whom they were menaced with invasion and subjugation. And when reformed, under the chastening

rod of adversity, they would be safer depositories of power, as less likely to abuse the trust, or to employ it against their liberators and benefactors.

But, however it may be conceived, that in the ordinary course of events, these causes might be pursued to their probable consequences; to declare the exact time when those moral and political revolutions would occur, was obviously beyond the reach of that foresight or sagacity which was merely human. As the Omniscient Being "whose kingdom ruleth over all," who "bringeth low and lifteth up," could alone foreknow the exact crisis of events, which accident or design might tend to retard or hasten, however necessarily produced, by known laws, and regular in their operation; by inspiration, from him alone, could the precise time of the occurrence be infallibly predicted.

2. But the facility with which the accomplishment of a prediction admits of being proved, furnishes an additional test, by which the superiority of chronological prophecy may be still further established. The limitation which it receives in the determination of a particular conjuncture of time, precludes the chance of misconception or error, respecting the events, in which the circumstances of the prediction remain to be verified. As the reality of the accomplishment consequently depends on a definite period, it may be measured

by a scale that is as certain as it is simple in the application. It is thus merely necessary to number so many years in succession from a given epoch; and the conformity of the time which is predicted, with that which has elapsed, reduces the accomplishment of the prediction to a demonstrative certainty.

In the evidence arising from the application of these tests, chronological prophecy acquires an increasing influence over our conviction, from the nature of the scale by which the course of time is not unfrequently computed. By the institution of the sabbatical period and jubilee, its progress was distributed, among the Jews, into cycles of seven and forty-nine years; by the returns of which, they regulated their religious ordinances and social transactions. According to the revolutions of these cycles, they determined their festivals and completed their civil engagements. As these periods were of divine appointment, it is not reasonable to suppose, that they would be altogether disregarded by the Deity, in the revelations which he conveyed through the intervention of the prophets, and declared he would accomplish in an appointed time. Of the prophecies in which a definite period is assigned, at the expiration of which the event predicted should occur, not a few are accordingly measured by the lapse of those septennial cycles. From their peculiar constitution, however, as

deduced from a determinate epoch, and performing their revolutions in a stated year, it is obvious, that the events fixed to the crisis of their conversion, will be placed in circumstances beyond calculation less favourable to the possibility of their casual verification, than if they were expressed without any limitation. When thus incorporated in prophecy, as they tend to narrow the limits, within which such occurrences may be casually discovered as will be answerable to the terms of the prediction; they tend, in the same proportion, to increase the difficulties of anticipating them by the natural powers of the human mind: and in the same degree, when these difficulties are really overcome, they strengthen the evidence, that the power to which they have yielded is supernatural, or, what is in effect the same;— That the predictions, the truth of which they thus contribute to demonstrate, have exclusively and positively proceeded from inspiration.

Nor is it less deserving of remark, that the prophecies, distinguished as chronological, recommend themselves by the demonstrative evidence with which they are thus constituted to operate on our conviction. It is further to be advanced in their behalf, that they form of themselves a consistent series, embracing the entire course of human events, to the consummation of all things. While they thus embrace the history of the peculiar nation, among whom the order of prophets

arose, and reveal the destinies of the race, who have succeeded to the divine favor since their rejection; they retain internal evidence of the source from whence they have emanated. As the remarkable epochs, which they define, critically correspond with the great revolutions, political as well as religious, in the history of the different people, for whose instruction and reformation they were delivered; they establish the immediate control of that Divine Being, whose providence was alone competent to effect, in his own good time and manner, so extraordinary a coincidence.

III. Such are the more prominent of the characters, by which the prophecies distinguished as chronological appear to be recommended; to which it would be my object to confine my attention, in the course, to which these observations are preliminary. As they not only combine the fate of the two kingdoms, which were the special objects of the divine care, but embrace the destiny of the ancient empires, which are generally known as the prophetical, they take a range which is at once wide and comprehensive. And as they form in themselves a connected series, and are sufficiently distinguished from the general tenor of prophecy, they are fitted to become the subject of a separate and connected discussion. Added to which recommendations, they are particularly qualified to secure the end for

which Prophecy was delivered; as eminently calculated to influence our faith; as they not only reveal the successive revolutions, of which this earth is destined to be the scene, but specify the precise times of their occurrence.

The revolutions in the civil government of the principal nations effected correspondent changes in their religious condition. This position is singularly verified in the history of the Assyrian and Persian Monarchies; the prosperity of which was productive of opposite results upon the Jewish polity; in which no difference was acknowledged between civil and religious institutions, the government, as a theocracy, being properly ecclesiastic. It is of importance however, to observe, as introductory to the disclosure of the scope and disposition proposed in the ensuing discussions, that on regarding revelation as connected with the destiny of the Church,—the term being understood in the most extensive sense, as embracing the Jewish and Christian community, —every revolution to which it was subject proves the object of an express prediction, the circumstances of which are not merely revealed, but the date of it positively determined. From the disclosure of the first purpose of the Almighty to choose a peculiar people, to be the depositories of the truth and the witnesses and preservers of the sacred oracles to which it was committed, this purpose was avowed and uniformly followed.

On the original declaration of God to Abraham, that this privileged race should be chosen from his posterity; it was at the same time revealed, that they would be at first oppressed, and finally liberated; the period of their bondage and deliverance being at the same time clearly imparted. After the accomplishment of this purpose, the people, in whose persons it was fulfilled, by a violation of the terms on which the permanent enjoyment of the prosperity to which they were raised was conceded, forfeited the privileges which they had inherited by promise. They were in consequence removed from the land, which they had received in possession, and were again restored to it, when they had been submitted to a temporary probation. We find the circumstances of these reverses are not only foretold, but the very date of each revealed, and finally accomplished according to the disclosure of the divine purpose. The principle equally extends to the subsequent changes in the polity and ceremonial of the Jews, in which the fate of the city and temple were involved; and it is alike applicable to the advent and ministry of the promised Messiah, not less than to the fate of his religion, as resisted and impeded, and as finally and universally triumphant. Thus in fact the entire fortunes and destiny of the Church, in the extensive sense in which the term has been considered, are the subject of particular predic-

tions, which fix the time in declaring the circumstances of the event. The prophecies, thus succeeding each other in a connected series, assume a systematic form, in which we observe every important change, that the chosen people experienced, chronologically determined, long previously to its occurrence. The entire series in thus uniformly tending to a specific object,—their establishment in a holy rest,—acquires a consistency as a whole, which in evincing an unity of purpose, proves it the offspring of the divine intention.

From this summary view of the subject and intention of the Chronological Prophecies, an idea may be easily conveyed of the nature and distribution of the ensuing discussions. As the revolutions which they predict are consecutive, and have their times and circumstances disclosed; in treating of them, in succession, the subject will assume that order which may be deemed not only the natural but the necessary arrangement. In pursuing this course, it is my intention to submit each, in its turn, to a critical and chronological scrutiny, as far as may be necessary for its elucidation and establishment. While they embrace the entire period of the divine dispensation, from the vocation of Abraham, to the establishment of his seed after the Spirit, in a holy rest; they necessarily include the whole course of time, from the first delivery of Revela-

tion, to the ultimate accomplishment of its purposes, in the Great Consummation of all things. The veil being thus drawn aside, by which the prospect into futurity is intercepted; the glories of the prophetic vision are displayed for our inspection; that while we have "respect unto the recompence of the reward,"* and "endure as seeing him who is invisible," nothing should be denied us, which could serve to animate hope, or stimulate exertion.

In tracing the course of human events, as manifesting, in their disclosure, the direct superintendence of providence; we here observe fully realised, all that imagination can conceive of the abstract perfection of revelation, or that prophecy can be supposed to effect, in evincing the divine authority of Religion. In the contrast with which we are struck, on comparing the revolutions achieved by human policy, and the reformation projected in the divine decrees; the different sources from whence the pure and the polluted current have issued, are directly apparent. For who will venture to assimilate objects where a comparison must be degrading? What likeness can be supposed between the waters of Siloa or Castalia; the living fount whose freshness imparts health and strength, whose draught is inspiration, and the lowly stream whose waters were but fabled to infuse the dreams of poetic

* Heb. xi. 26, 27.

fiction? Nor is the difference, thus wide and disproportionate, less apparent, in the means by which the contrary objects are attained which were projected on either side, than in the magnitude of the end which is to be accomplished. On the one hand, we behold the petty schemes of groveling ambition, pursued through the perplexing mazes of intrigue, and the sanguinary field of slaughter, yet proving as doubtful in the acquirement as they are precarious in the tenure. From the mouldering remains of one fallen structure, the towers and pinnacles of another are observed to arise, but to sink, in their turn, to dilapidation and ruin. As Assyria yields to Persia, Persia sinks before Macedon; and the rising splendor of Rome finally eclipses the waning glory of Macedon. While, on the other hand, the great purpose, which is held steadily in view, is not more signally distinguished by its vastness and importance, than by the purity and sanctity of the means, which are employed in its attainment. The glorious consummation, to which the whole system uniformly tends, bearing the impress of the Infinite Being, through whose prescience it is revealed, and by whose power it is promoted; the Dispensation which it promises to realise being destined to surpass in its diffusion the bounds of this lower world, and to survive in its duration the laws of nature. While in its participation of ubiquity and eter-

nity, it thus shares the attributes of its divine author, it presents to the mind, an object of that vastness and importance, which surpasses its powers of conception, to exceed or heighten; the image of a regenerate world, raised from the moral and natural convulsions with which it is rent, to a state of holiness which is without alloy, and of happiness without abatement.

To an object of no less interest and magnitude, than the development of this great purpose, I would aspire; and I trust, with a deep and adequate sense of the immeasurable disproportion between the subject which I have undertaken, and the powers with which it is attempted. In aiming at this end,—from which the discussion into which I have entered derives its entire importance,—my justification must be likewise sought, for the minuteness and intricacy of many of the subjects, to which I have to solicit attention. Nor can I bring myself to doubt, that when the nature of the plea which I have advanced is duly appreciated; the indulgence which I ask, will not be denied me. For it is not a matter of curious speculation, or subject of subtle disputation, to which attention is solicited; but the highest practical end, of which our earthly state is susceptible. In Prophecy, the project is revealed, to which God himself is engaged; to reclaim a world, immersed in sin and misery, to purity and happiness. It is the pro-

mise which he has given, that his kingdom shall be finally established upon earth; that the creation, freed from the natural and moral evil under which it groans, and renewed in righteousness and bliss, shall no longer dishonor its Maker and Governor.

" See then that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven: Whose voice then shook the earth; but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. Wherefore we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear." *

* Heb. xii. 25, 26, 28.

# LECTURE II.

## 2 KINGS, XVII. 22, 23.

"For the children of Israel walked in all the sins of Jeroboam which he did; they departed not from them; until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the prophets. So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria, unto this day."

To the mind which is merely conversant with the usual course of events, which is accustomed to trace common occurrences to ordinary causes, the reverses which are here described may be not unnaturally supposed to present an instance merely of the mutability of human affairs, which is generally ascribed to accident or fortune. The difficulties which they present to the cursory observer, in referring them to more than natural causes, are not a little increased by the obstacles opposed to the endeavour of him who would reconcile them with the privileges of a race, who laid claim to a divine election; difficulties which increase in their magnitude, as the distance appears extended between the different

states, as prosperous and adverse, which were experienced by the chosen people. The reverses sustained by the nation, which, from enjoying the blessings of abundance and happiness, are reduced to the privations and misery, entailed by conquest and captivity, may be readily conceived, without an extended or forcible delineation. The natural tone of the picture is sufficiently strong, without the artifice of contrast; where greater force is imparted to the colouring, by exhibiting the lights and shades in a studied opposition. In the state of "Israel carried away," as the text declares, "out of their own land, to Assyria, unto this day," the contrast is decidedly marked; those different periods of their history exhibiting that diversity of sunshine and shadow, as they continued in prosperity and captivity, which is sometimes pronounced irreconcileable with the exalted privileges by which they professed themselves to be distinguished.

But for every difficulty in the contrary states of the Israelites, the context offers a solution, that serves at once to prove the immediate intervention, and to vindicate the moral attributes of God, in his dealings with this infatuated people. In declaring, that "*they walked in all the sins of Jeroboam* which he did, they departed not from them, until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight, *as he had said by all his servants the prophets;*" it insists on those anticipations of

*future* consequences, which, as not to be explained on merely natural principles, must be necessarily referred to the divine interposition.

I. It is indeed impossible to prosecute inquiry into the history of the Israelites, with a view to the verification of the statement of the inspired writer in the text, without having the evidence of its truth obtruded upon our notice. In following the tenor of the prophecies which predicted the great political changes that they experienced, and confining our attention to the chronological, as more immediately connected with my purpose: the revelations of the divine determination, respecting their future destiny, were conveyed in promises when they were originally imparted. They were thus delivered to Abram, the founder of the race: to whom they were ratified under a covenant. They were transmitted through him to his posterity, the precise time of their accomplishment having been revealed from the beginning. "And God said to Abram, Know of a surety that *thy seed* shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them: and they shall afflict them *four hundred years.* And also that nation whom they shall serve will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; and thou shalt be buried in a good old age. But *in the fourth generation* they shall come hither

again: for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full."*

On looking to the Divine Being, who graciously condescended to be the author of this declaration, we must rather regard it as the revelation of a purpose, than the prediction of an event. It was delivered to Abraham, in the year of his vocation; when man was admitted to the converse of his Maker. As it was consequently coeval with the first Promise of Revelation, given to the Patriarch, it affords an earnest and proof of the divine purpose, from the first disclosure of his intention to lay the foundation of a Church in his seed, not only to declare the reverses to which it would be exposed, but to determine the date of them. From the time of its delivery, it must have been understood, as relating to a progeny, which was yet unborn. And it will be soon made apparent, that the period of 400 years, which it determined, and from which it derives its character as chronological, deduces the date of its accomplishment, from the time when the very first of the promised seed, in passing from infancy to childhood, became capacitated to fulfil it in person.

In submitting the prediction to the test of chronological proof, it will conduce to its illustration and establishment, to take up the computation from the time of its accomplishment.

* Gen. xv. 13—16.

In ascertaining the measure of any quantity, it is indifferent to the method of demonstrating its extent, at which extreme of it the rule is first applied, by which we purpose to prove its dimensions. Of the event marked out, as the object to be accomplished, no reasonable doubt can be entertained; whatever perplexity may have arisen, in ascertaining a suitable epoch for the period predicted. It admits not of controversion, that the final purpose, communicated by the Lord to the patriarch would be effected, in the deliverance of "his seed after the flesh," from their oppression in Egypt. In the revelation vouchsafed to him, he was informed, that a period of wandering and affliction, extending to 400 years, awaited them, during which they would be aliens, and bondsmen in the land destined for their inheritance. For the nation, however, by whom, in the course of that period, they would be reduced to slavery, a particular visitation was in reserve: the assurance being added, that God would judge them, when he liberated his chosen people, who, in their release, should repay themselves for their services, by spoiling their oppressors.

The date of their deliverance being known, if 400 years be now computed from it in ascent, the year in which that period commenced will be necessarily determined. The departure from Egypt having occurred, according to the best

digested system of chronology, in the year B. C. 1492, on ascending from that time 400 years, we arrive at the year 1892 of the same era. This year is assigned, on the same unimpeachable authority, to the weaning of Isaac; which excited the contempt and hostility of Ishmael, that ended in his expulsion, from his paternal roof. That no undue importance is annexed to the event, which is thus ascertained, as marking the commencement of the period predicted, may be safely inferred from the fact of its being distinguished by another revelation from the Almighty; in which the allusion to the previous communication, vouchsafed to the patriarch, is too plain to be overlooked or mistaken. It has been naturally supposed, that the son of Hagar, presuming on his right of primogeniture, treated the claims of the child who was conceived by grace, not merely with hostile feelings, but with contemptuous levity. In passing sentence upon him, for his contumely, the promise was renewed by God, in which the claims of Isaac were not only recognised, but declared to be exclusive.

The accuracy of this computation, which might be sustained on the express authority of St. Paul, in stating the interval between the giving of the Promise and the delivery of the Law, may be established on its internal consistency. If the sojourning of the child of promise, in any period of his peregrination, be included in the revela-

tion, that Abraham's posterity would traverse the land as strangers, into which, at the expiration of the predicted term of 400 years, they would be inducted as occupants; it is difficult to conceive, from what period of his life, or the life of any of his progeny, the commencement of it could be with equal fitness deduced, as that which appears, from the preceding computation, to have been positively selected. Suitably to the terms of the divine declaration, a numerous progeny was to be raised up to Abraham, by whom the promised inheritance would be enjoyed; when the wickedness of the Amorites had arrived at that enormity, which would render their extirpation from it, as just as it was expedient. The connexion of the revelation, in which this purpose was disclosed, with the land of Canaan, which was the lot of their inheritance, was thus as close, as it appears to be slight and distant, from that of Egypt, where they were detained in servitude; and which is apparently mentioned in the prediction as fixing the time of their deliverance from oppression and bondage. The period which it defines thus proves to be comprised within the limits, which the circumstances of the case seem naturally to assign it. As it commences from the time, when the seed, through whom the promise was made, was not more than an individual, and even in his nonage; and closes with that, when they had multiplied to

that degree, which enabled them to carry the divine purposes into effect, by taking the promised land in possession.

Whether we consider the time at which this extraordinary revelation was made, or the extreme dates between which it is included, it is not easy even to conceive, how greater wisdom and skill could have been manifested in the selection. While the time of its delivery is coincident with that of the Promise; it marks out the utmost limits of the period, which was necessary to carry it into execution. In fixing those landmarks, the interval of 400 years, by which they are separated, is distributed with that skill and judgment, on which it seems impossible to improve in conception. The remarkable period of which it consists is not merely composed of a series of sabbatical cycles; but, as comprised between the years B. C. 1892 and 1492, the important events of which it fixes the dates, were so ordered as to concur with the commencement of those septennial periods. The necessary effect of this disposition, which proves the contriver to have exercised unlimited control over his means, is the extraordinary connexion established between the different eras, which were computed by revolutions of the sabbatical year, and which were so ordered that the epochs of each should commence with the first year of the cycle. The truth of this assumption is apparent in the extra-

ordinary fact, that the entire course of time, as measured by the return of the jubilee or sabbatical year, may be deduced with equal facility from the date of the revelation, or that of the departure from Egypt, or the settlement in Canaan; to both of which the allusion is equally express in the prediction, as delivered to Abraham, at the time of his Vocation.

2. At the expiration of the period, thus determined, at which the preceding induction justifies us in concluding, the prediction was to the letter fulfilled, the promises given to Abraham were again renewed under Moses, the inspired person who was chosen to carry them into effect; to accomplish this deliverance, and to conduct the seed of the Patriarch to the land which they were assigned as an inheritance. In the terms in which they were at this time enlarged and explained, the denunciations of judgments were added to the assurances of reward; of the final accomplishment of which, a record and a proof remains, in the passage of the sacred annals which gives occasion to this discourse, "Ye shall make you no idols, nor graven image, ... neither set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it: for I am the Lord your God. Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary; I am the Lord.... But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments.... I will destroy your high places,

and cut down your images, and cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols, and my soul shall abhor you. And I will *make your cities waste*, and bring your *sanctuaries into desolation*, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours. And I will *bring the land into desolation*, and I will *scatter you among the heathen*, and will draw out a sword after you; and *your land shall be desolate*, and *your cities waste*."*

When therefore the deportation of the ten tribes to Assyria is regarded even in the very lowest light; we behold in it the execution of a judgment previously revealed and solemnly denounced, in which the punishment was singularly apportioned to the offence; the land which had been granted under conditions, having been forfeited, on the violation of the stipulated terms under which its permanent occupation had been exclusively pledged. For, as the historian of the event has recorded, "the children of Israel did secretly that thing which was not right against the Lord their God, and they built them high places in all their cities.... And they set them up images and groves in every high hill, and under every green tree, and they burnt incense in all the high places, as did the heathen whom the Lord carried away before them; and wrought wicked things to provoke the Lord to anger.

* Lev. xxvi. 1, 2, 14, 30—34.

For they served idols, whereof the Lord had said unto them, Ye shall not do this thing." *

But the deportation of the Israelites from the Holy Land, from whence their idolatry occasioned their expulsion, had a still higher object; to which the terms of the promise, as explained and extended by the divine legate who first carried them into effect, still more particularly alluded. The land in which they were planted, was assigned them not merely as a place of occupancy, but of rest and sanctity. For this purpose a succession of festivals, termed from their character, sabbatical, to which allusion has been recently made, was enjoined them; in which the event of their deliverance from Egypt and their settlement in Canaan were not merely commemorated; but an allusion was made to a former rest, in which God had ceased from his works, at the creation; and to a future, into which, as we have already observed, he gave the most solemn pledge, that he would at this time admit his chosen people. It seems to have been consequently exacted by the majesty, and due to the denunciations of him, by whom these ordinances were positively enjoined, that, however the institutions were disregarded, and the divine menaces despised, the immutable purposes of the Deity should not be frustrated by the wayward-

* 2 Kings, xvii. 9—12.

ness or wickedness of man. With this view, it had been expressly declared in the Levitical Code, under which those festivals had been appointed, and immediately after that part of it in which they were enjoined; "You shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord....But if you will not hearken unto me, and do all these commandments....*your land shall be desolate* and *your cities waste.* Then shall the land *enjoy her sabbaths,* as long as it lieth desolate and ye be in your enemies' land: even then shall *the land rest and enjoy her sabbaths.*" *

The deportation of the ten tribes to Assyria, as recorded in the text, must be therefore regarded, as intended to carry the denunciations, thus solemnly uttered, into execution. The connexion is not indeed expressly traced between the perpetration of the crime, and the infliction of the punishment in the brief record of their captivity. It is, however apparent, in the entire course of the Divine Dispensations, as far as they have been hitherto developed. And when the measure of the whole nation's transgression was full; when the remaining tribes, who were respited, for a short time, from the judgments visited on their compatriots, remained unreclaimed by their fate, and fell after their example; the accomplishment of this object is ex-

* Lev. xxvi. 2, 14, 33, 34.

pressly declared to have been intended, in their implication in the common calamity. "Them that escaped from the sword were carried away captive to Babylon: to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, *until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths;* for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath to fulfil threescore and ten years." * Were it not evident from the delivery of the Promise, and the whole tenor of the Levitical Law, it would be obvious from the context of the prediction itself, that reference is made in it to the authority of the prophet, exclusively on the term of the captivity, the precise limits of which are fixed at seventy years, in this extraordinary prophecy. On abstracting this peculiarity from his declarations, they convey an express testimony of the object to which the Divine Dispensations uniformly tended.

II. In these general observations on the nature of the transgression of this people, regarded with reference to the ordinances which they were enjoined and the denunciations by which they were enforced; the consideration of their fate, as recorded in the text, loses much of the vividness with which it is calculated to impress us, from the distance intervening between the violation of the ordinance and the infliction of the punishment. From the comparative indistinctness with which distant objects are regarded,

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21.

however fitted to induce solemn or painful reflexions,—as the desolate land and the ruined city,—they lose much of the melancholy interest which they are calculated to awaken. But as the hour of divine visitation drew near, when a powerful and implacable enemy approached, who would carry the denunciations of an offended God into certain and speedy execution; when the inhabitants, subjected to all the indignities and horrors of invasion, were torn from their habitations, and borne, destitute and captive, from their native land, to pine in a foreign and distant country:—in the series of visitations to which they were exposed, the menaces that they continued to brave, and the calamities which they finally suffered, we are enabled to form an adequate idea of the extent of their guilt and the severity of its retribution.

In dwelling, for however short a period, on that most impressive picture of the mutability of all earthly affairs, which the abduction of a whole people, the desolation of an entire land, presents to us; the moral purposes to which it conduces may be, however, derived from a higher consideration, as we turn from the precariousness of our present state, and look up to Him, by whose permission or power these reverses are effected. And in keeping our attention fixed, with this view, on the ancient people, whose fortunes are recorded in the text; if the consider-

ation be calculated to strike us with an awful idea of the wrath of God, it is no less qualified to inspire us with a feeling sense of his mercy. In the series of visitations by which his first purposes were carried into effect, and to reveal the certainty and denounce the consequences of which, the prophetical order was instituted; the hour of retribution and vengeance did not fall without the intervention of a protracted and solemn preparation. In repeated admonitions, he continued to apprize them of their danger; "testified against Israel and against Judah, by all the prophets and all the seers." As the cloud gathered, it gave awful and repeated warnings of the vengeance with which it was charged; though they still persevered in defying the danger which impended, his long-suffering and forbearance remained unabated. Within the space of the few reigns which preceded the time of their final rejection, the prophets Amos and Hosea were deputed to disclose the divine determinations on their fate. Of their sacred function it was a prominent part to offer deliverance through the promised Messiah; and to describe the security and peace of the kingdom which he would finally establish upon earth; and the foundation of which was alone deferred, in consequence of their infidelity and transgressions.

But of the inspired persons on whom this office devolved, the prophet, Isaiah,—who was

more particularly deputed to disclose the time, beyond which the divine judgments would not be deferred,—is more eminently distinguished; and who, from the visions of the glories of *his* kingdom, whom he designates as the Prince of Peace, has been denominated the evangelical prophet. Through the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, the ministry of this extraordinary person extended. In the course of this eventful period, when the iniquities of the Israelites had risen to the summit, he raised his monitory voice against the national contumacy and transgression. With a fervor of language, a sublimity of conception, and a splendor of imagery, which are unrivalled even among those whose eloquence is inspiration, he applied himself to the denunciation and correction of the national corruption. To turn them from their evil ways, and save them from the retribution with which their sins would be visited, he lifted up the veil, by which the view of futurity was intercepted, and showed the contrary states, in which it was the divine determination, that their conduct should receive a just retribution; a land laid waste and desolate for its transgressions, and a kingdom established in peace and righteousness, for ever.

Of the predictions delivered by this distinguished prophet, two are more eminently entitled to attention, as fixing *the date* of the great national crisis to which the text alludes, and accordingly

ranked among the most remarkable of the *chronological* prophecies. The precise times at which they were delivered are expressly marked; and accordingly identified with the first and last years of Ahaz king of Judah. According to this period, which extended to *sixteen years*, the first of those remarkable predictions is divided; which, in determining the time when the Israelites should cease to be a people, declared that the national existence was limited to *twenty-one years*, of which it may be cursorily observed that it was a sabbatical period.

To form any just idea of the suitableness of the time at which this disclosure was made; it seems necessary to take into account the precise position in which the kingdoms were placed, of the existence of which it determines the duration.

The time chosen for its delivery was that in which, an invasion of the kingdom of Judah was projected by the confederate forces of the Israelites and Syrians. The object of this coalition, in which Pekah king of Israel engaged with Rezin king of Syria, was to cut off the succession of David, and to set an alien prince upon his throne; in contempt of the promise which had been expressly given, that the Messiah should be of his lineage, and the inheritor of his kingdom; the duration of which, it was declared, should be for ever. At this remarkable conjuncture, which drew forth the splendid prophecy of the immacu-

late conception and birth of Immanuel; in whom the throne of David would be re-established, and through whom deliverance from impending danger was exclusively to be sought; the downfall of the kingdoms, confederate against Judah, was proclaimed, and the period of their national existence consequently prescribed to the schismatic tribes of Israel, among which, that of Ephraim—from the times of Jeroboam, who was of that tribe,—had obtained a supremacy. "And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou and Shearjashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, have taken evil counsel against thee, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal: Thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; and within *sixteen* and *five*

*years* shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people. And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established." *

The periods thus accurately defined, are the *twelve* years of the reign of Ahaz to the accession of Hoshea, and the succeeding years to the *ninth* of this prince, in which this extraordinary prediction received a signal accomplishment. For, on appealing to the testimony of history, the best interpreter of prophecy, it appears, from that part of the sacred record in which the circumstances of the captivity are detailed, that, according to the precise term which had been fixed, the event proved answerable to the prediction. " And the king of Assyria," it declares, " found conspiracy in Hoshea, for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and brought no tribute to the king of Assyria.... Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria and besieged it three years. And *in the ninth year of Hoshea*, the king of Assyria took Samaria, *and carried Israel away into Assyria*, and placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan; and in the cities of the Medes." †

In the singular manner in which these *twenty-*

* Is. vii. 2—9. † 2 Kings, xvii. 4, 5 6.

*one years* to the captivity are distributed into two periods, of *sixteen* and *five years;* which has occasioned as singular a corruption of the text of the prophet; there is a propriety which imparts to the circumstances of the prediction even greater appositeness and precision. It is not merely observable, that these different periods mark the precise length of the reign of Ahaz, to whom it was delivered; and as much of the reign of his son Hezekiah, under whom it was fulfilled, as remained to the consummation of that great national crisis; but they contribute to mark the conterminous bounds of a great moral contrast, in the reigns of these monarchs, to which we are to look, for the proper ground of the distribution of the term, prescribed by the divine appointment, to the national existence of Israel.

In the earlier period of *sixteen years*, during which the throne had been occupied by Ahaz, the Jewish nation, encouraged by the example, and seduced by the influence, of that idolatrous prince, had arrived at an unprecedented degree of iniquity. After the secession of the Israelites under Jeroboam, the Jews had maintained their allegiance to the royal line of David; and under a succession of peculiar kings had received many signal deliverances. But under Ahaz occurred that apostacy of the house of Judah "which was the ruin of him and of all Israel."* This aban-

* 2 Chron. xiii. 4.

doned prince set up molten calves in his dominions, burned incense in the valley of Hinnom, and sacrificed his children to the gods of the heathen. Instead of relying for deliverance upon the promises of God, through an expected Deliverer, he applied for assistance to the king of Assyria; committed sacrilege against the temple of the Lord, and spoiled it of the sacred utensils. Finally, trusting for safety in the gods of Syria, he offered them sacrifice; and at length shutting up the temple of the Lord, he made idolatry the established religion of the land. As far therefore as it seems possible for the Jewish nation to have been guilty of defection from the true God, and from the hope of deliverance through a promised Messiah, they appear to have fallen into the lowest state of apostacy.

But during *the five* succeeding years, in which the sceptre was held by Hezekiah, to whom it had descended from Ahaz, the opportunity of repentance and amendment were allowed to the devoted people; who, in contempt of every warning, and defiance of every menace, continued to rush madly upon destruction. Under this pious prince, the national worship, which had been suspended under his father, was restored with extraordinary splendor. He purified the temple, which had been closed in the preceding reign, and celebrated the passover with unusual pomp and solemnity; of which the schismatic tribes

were by special messengers invited to become participants. Having determined on the abolition of idolatry through the Holy Land, he removed the high places, destroyed the images, and cut down the groves; and, having reinstated the sacred order in the ministry, effected a thorough reformation of the national religion. Nor was his zeal for its re-establishment confined to his own dominions. His care likewise extended to the kingdom of Israel; for the danger with which Hoshea, its king, was menaced by the Assyrians, rendered him incapable of opposing any effectual resistance to the progress of religious reform. To the subjects of this prince, the invitation was generally given to repair to the worship at Jerusalem; which, though rejected by some with contempt and derision, was accepted by numbers with suitable humility and reverence.

Although it had been sufficient for the vindication of the divine forbearance, that to a race so long spared, so frequently recalled, the time was thus allowed, and the means were supplied for repentance; although it had been more than sufficient for the vindication of the divine mercy, that the way was opened for their return to forgiveness and favor, and every incitement used to induce them to seek it; still, though every overture was rejected, if not despised, the long suffering of God was not yet exhausted. When the hour of retribution approached, once more the

warning was repeated; and an earnest given of the certainty with which it would be ultimately carried into execution.

The sixteenth year had but commenced, from Isaiah's denunciation, that in *five years* from the time of its close, the Israelites should cease to exist as a nation. The Assyrians, by whom the menace was finally carried into effect, had already entered on their expedition against the devoted kingdom; their direct way to which lay through the Moabite dominions. The fate of this people, who first sank under the power of the invaders, was accordingly selected by the prophet, as not merely affording an example and warning to the Israelites; but as furnishing a proof of his inspiration, in limiting the time of their existence to the short period which he had predicted. Of the six years from the death of Ahaz, which, he had led them to understand, were still allowed them for repentance, he now announced, that *in three* the fall of the Moabite kingdom was determined. For his prediction closes with these remarkable words; "Now the Lord hath spoken, saying, Within *three years*, as the years of a hireling, and the glory of Moab shall be contemned, and all that great multitude; and the remnant shall be very small and feeble."*

Thus at the distance of six years from the state

* Is. xvi. 14.

of the preceding prediction, in which the fall of Israel was revealed; a simple test was proposed, by which the inspiration of the prophet, and the consequent probability of the great event which he predicted, might be easily verified. On comparing the prediction of this short period of *three years*, with the calamitous event in which, at the expiration of that time, it was to the letter fulfilled; the remaining time, amounting also to *three years*, was intended as a short respite, that, if employed in penitence and amendment, might avail in averting the impending judgment.

By the apparently insignificant circumstance, which is added by the prophet; that "these *three years* were as the years of a hireling," his words acquire a bearing upon the method of computing by sabbatical years; which, in verifying the date, contributes to establish the fact of the event predicted. According to the terms under which hirelings were engaged, in the Mosaic law, it was necessary, that, at the close of the sixth and opening of the sabbatical year, they should receive their freedom.* But from the best digested scheme of chronology it positively appears, that the three years, commencing from the death of Ahaz and ending with the fall of Moab, exactly coincide with the last years of that cycle. As it was provided under the Levitical institution, that

* Deut. xv. 12.

the land should be exempt from labor, when the servants were set free; the period in which it enjoyed its sabbath is thus found precisely to correspond with that in which they were manumitted. On the fall of Moab, the siege of the capital of Israel by the Assyrians commenced; and, as the sacred historian adds, "At the end of *three years* they took it: even in *the sixth year* of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel, Samaria was taken. And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes: because they obeyed not the voice of the Lord their God, but transgressed his covenant, and all that Moses the servant of the Lord commanded, and would not hear them nor do them." *

3. Such were the causes which led to the fall and rejection of Israel, after she had existed for 254 years in a state of separation from the kingdom of Judah, to which her fall was intended to serve as a warning and example; that the terror of her punishment might withdraw the remnant, that were spared for a while, from those evil courses, that finally involved the whole nation in a common destruction. To us, "for whose admonition, all those things are written which happened to them for ensamples," † their fate conveys

* 2 Kings, xviii. 10, 11, 12. † 1 Cor. x. 11.

a lesson which is at once edifying and instructive; as exhibiting a signal instance of the long-suffering with which God, in his mercy, aims at reclaiming the wicked, and of the awful retribution with which his justice visits inveterate, incorrigible transgression. And if, as it would be unreasonable to doubt, the extent of his wrath may be estimated by the magnitude of the punishment; of its weight and nature an adequate idea may be formed, when we reflect on the instruments of divine vengeance by whom it was carried into execution. No exertion of imagination is, indeed, necessary to rise to a just conception of its terrors, when it is remembered, that the ministers by whose hands it was inflicted were a foreign and invading army; that, flushed by success and exasperated by opposition, they prosecuted a war, not merely of conquest, but extermination. It cannot be necessary to extend the picture of their excesses; to paint the indignities and enormities of a lawless band, as little withheld by moral restraint as curbed by military discipline. In the scene of general desolation which everywhere marks their advances, the dreadful visitation is apparent of which they are the special instruments. In the plains, once teeming with the bounty of nature, now rendered a solitude; in the cities reduced to smoking and "ruinous heaps;" in the population swept, unsheltered and destitute, from the scenes of their

former happiness; in "the waste and howling wilderness," to which the land is reduced, where they retreat, the picture of divine vengeance is completed: of vengeance, provoked by the transgressions of an infatuated race, who were unmoved alike by the offer of pardon, and the denunciation of punishment. Such was the calamitous and desolate state, to which sin, prolonged and unrepented, reduced the land, which was destined to be the lasting abode of peace and righteousness; for the security and fruitfulness of which the word of God himself was pledged, under the most gracious conditions; the land over which he spread the protecting shadow of his wings, and blessed with his bounty, as the earth imbibes fertility from the dews of heaven.

When regarded in such a light, the closing scene of this people's history affords a subject, not merely of curious speculation, but of moral influence and example. As certainly as immutability is included among the attributes of Him, "who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;" so surely can no exemption be purchased by us, from the duties by which they were bound, no security against the wrath which they provoked by transgression. As "through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles:"* unto the inheritance which they have forfeited, have we been

* Rom. xi. 11.

chosen. Nor can any difference in the means, which God has been pleased to employ for our conviction, be pleaded by us, for the breach of the New Covenant into which we are admitted, or the infraction of the New Law which is given us for our direction. "For we also have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in our hearts."* We have equal proof of the authority with which it was delivered, having equal evidence of its truth, in the events wherein it has been fulfilled; as the facts which they admitted at the mouth of credible witnesses, we receive in the authentic records which they have transmitted.

"Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God; on them which fell, severity; but toward thee goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: if otherwise, thou also shalt be cut off." †

* 2 Pet. i. 19. † Rom. xi. 20, 21, 22.

# LECTURE III.

## 2 KINGS, XVII. 18, 19, 20.

"Therefore the Lord was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight: there was none left but the tribe of Judah only. Also Judah kept not the commandments of the Lord their God, but walked in the statutes of Israel, which they made. And the Lord rejected all the seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hand of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight."

WHILE an examination of the works of nature furnishes demonstrative evidence of the existence of God, the investigation of its operations unfortunately tends to weaken the proof of his particular providence. The regularity and harmony with which secondary causes accomplish their ends, precludes the necessity of referring to the primary cause, in tracing ordinary effects to their origin. Of the different species of divine demonstration, to which we are consequently compelled to have recourse, in appealing on this subject from the dimness of reason to the light of revelation, prophecy appears best constituted to operate on our reasonable conviction. The capriciousness with which nature is sometimes observed to

deviate from her general laws,—the powers which science confers on the informed in controlling her operations,—while they tend to confound the limits between the natural and preternatural, render the claims of miracles to a divine character disputable or precarious. But of human conduct and occurrences, on which prophecy is engaged, our knowledge is more sure and extensive. However contracted our experience, we cannot fail to observe, that the ordinary course of events is exposed to casual and intentional derangement, which it surpasses our powers of calculation or conjecture to anticipate. The inclinations and interests, the passions and prejudices of mankind, which influence the tide of sublunary affairs, are so fluctuating in their nature, and uncertain in their operation, as to baffle every rule and principle of computation, not merely to fix their date, but frequently to determine their nature.

In estimating the weight of those different methods employed by the Deity, in manifesting his immediate intervention; we cannot, therefore, be surprised, that it should have generally consisted with the modes of his providence, to employ the prophetical in preference to the miraculous. And if indeed the moral and physical efficacy with which they are respectively endued, in operating on our conviction, and influencing our conduct, be however cursorily considered;

we shall not have long to search for the grounds of the preference, by which the latter has been particularly distinguished. Independent of the difficulty which has been encountered, in tracing the connexion between preternatural operation and doctrinal truths; we readily perceive the practical application of prophetical revelation, by which the greatest moral and religious revolutions may be effected.

In a supine neglect of this evidence, or perverse resistance to its influence, the kingdom of Israel had fallen, as it was formerly my object to shew; and suffered, in captivity, the penalty of their perverseness and incredulity. From the fate in which ten of the tribes were thus involved, two of them were however respited, in consequence of the divine determinations and promises, as revealed to the patriarchs; and which, though man, in the exercise of his moral freedom, was permitted to suspend, he could not ultimately frustrate.

From the first distribution of the progeny of Israel into the families which gave birth to the twelve tribes; the advent of Shilo, through that tribe which was descended from Judah, Jacob's fourth son, had been predicted. From the elder brothers, in consequence of their transgressions, the right of primogeniture had descended to the younger. While Reuben had proved himself unworthy of the blessing by incest, and Simeon

and Levi by cruelty; the good disposition of Judah was manifest in his intercession for Joseph, and self-devotion for Benjamin, when their safety was respectively menaced. The blessing of Jacob, which the better qualities of Judah had thus obtained him, passed to David as his lineal descendant; for he also proved himself not undeserving of the benediction, by his natural kindness and placability of nature. To him, as the first king of the tribe of Judah, the promise given to his forefathers was consequently renewed:— "God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne." *

To the descendants of Judah, thus constituted the royal tribe, the progeny of Benjamin united themselves; when the ten remaining tribes, acknowledging the supremacy of that of Ephraim, erected themselves into a separate kingdom. That tribe consequently shared the extension of the mercy, still vouchsafed to the remnant that escaped the penalty which the Israelites had incurred by protracted transgression. But, as the inspired historian informs us in the text, they too, in contempt of the means employed for their reformation, fell after their pernicious example. "Also, Judah," as it expressly declares, "kept not the commandments of the Lord their God,

* Acts, ii. 30.

but walked in the statutes of Israel, which they made." Or, according to the fuller detail of the inspired record, in which the nature of the punishment is specified with reference to the character of the offence;—"The Lord God of their fathers sent to them by his messengers, rising up betimes and sending; because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place: But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his word, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees." *

I. Of the inspired persons, to whom this office was consigned, and whose prophecies supply matter suited to my present purpose, the most remarkable were Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The latter prophet, by whom the deportation of the Jews was precisely determined, eleven years before it was carried into effect, claims our immediate attention. He describes himself of the priestly order, and as among the Jewish captives who had been led away under king Jehoiachin; who were settled near the river Chebar or Chaboras, in Gauzanitis of Mesopotamia. Here he declares his earliest visions were received; and, in particular, a prescience obtained of the limits prescribed to the existence of the kingdom of

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16.

Judah. As he dates his prediction from "the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity," * which preceded the fall of Jerusalem by *seven* years, and the last deportation of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, by *eleven*; his prophecy, which ranks among the most remarkable of those termed chronological, preceded the event at that distance of time, for which we can only account by referring it to inspiration.

But the determination of the date of the prediction, which its author has been thus at the pains to fix, is of still further importance; as contributing to illustrate the appositeness of the time chosen for its delivery. The character of this eventful period is delineated with force and vividness by the prophets, who wrote to avert the calamities, in which the whole nation whom they addressed were destined to be involved, when, as they declare, their "land was reduced to a desolation and astonishment." Among the enormities which drew down the divine visitation, and from which they sought to reclaim them, they not only charge them with a defection from the service of the true God, and a disregard of the menaces denounced by his messengers; but with a devotion to the profane superstitions which the heathen embraced, and a blind attachment to the false prophets who sought to reconcile them

* Ezek. i. 1; viii. 1.

to the ways of sin and destruction. "The iniquity of the land," to use their own forcible language, "was exceeding great, the land was full of blood, and the city full of perverseness; for they say, The Lord hath forsaken the earth, and the Lord seeth not."* While they thus denied the providence, and defied the vengeance of God, with a profane hope of conciliating the nations, from whom alone they believed danger was to be apprehended, they introduced their superstitious rites into the precincts of the temple, and polluted the sanctuary with their abominations.†

To this state of moral degradation the entire Jewish nation was sunk, when the prophet Ezekiel was commissioned to warn them, that the time was fixed, in the counsels of the Most High, beyond which the career of iniquity, into which they inconsiderately ran, should not be prolonged. He describes himself as having been at the time in captivity. For seven days, he had continued rapt in mental abstraction among the captives, when he was required to confine himself to his house. Here he was injoined some forms, which may appear to the fastidiousness of our modern notions, extravagant or absurd; but of which it must be acknowledged, that they were calculated to awaken the observation, and to fix the attention of the observer. It is to us merely of im-

* Ezek. ix. 9. † Id. viii. 6—16.

portance, however, to consider the purport of the prophecy which he delivered, and which he has expressed in the following terms:—"Lie thou upon thy left side and lay the iniquity *of the house of Israel* upon it: according to the number of *the days* that thou shalt lie upon it, thou shalt bear their iniquity. For I have laid upon thee *the years* of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, *three hundred and ninety days:* so shalt thou bear the iniquity of *the house of Israel.* And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity *of the house of Judah forty days.* I have appointed thee *each day for a year.*"*

If the exposition of the prophet left it doubtful, that the limits of 390 and of 40 years were prescribed, in these words, to the iniquity of the house of Israel and of Judah, respectively; the sense might be positively determined from a parallel passage in Moses, from which the turn of the prophet's expression derives illustration. A like analogy is observed, in determining the number of years consumed in wandering in the desert, by the number of days employed in spying the promised land: "After the number of days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, *each day for a year,* shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my breach

* Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6.

of promise."* Upon this rule, which is the acknowledged canon of prophetical interpretation, I wish at this early period to fix the attention of my hearers, as of the last importance to the prosecution of the ensuing discussions.

But the precise limits prescribed to the iniquity of Judah are not more clearly determined by the prophet, than the era, by which they should be computed, is suggested at the opening of his vision. He there identifies its thirtieth year with the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity; and thus enables us to determine precisely not only its commencement but its close, at which the transgressions of Israel and of Judah would cease, with their national existence. From the date thus determined, and which proves coincident with the last deportation of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar; if 390 and 40 years are respectively taken in ascent, the commencement of the iniquity of Israel proves coincident with the second year of king Jeroboam, and that of Judah with the eighteenth of king Josiah.

On thus tracing the labyrinth with the clue supplied by the prophet, every intricacy may be unravelled with which it appears, at first sight, to be embarrassed. The certainty of the results, at which it enables us to arrive, will be, however, still more apparent; if it can be shewn, that the

* Numb. xiv. 34. Comp. xiii. 25.

character of the times, which coincide with the *commencement* of the prophetical periods of 390 and 40 years, and with their common *close* at the last deportation of the Israelites, are strictly conformable to the views of Ezekiel; that in the narrative of the historian, and the description of the prophet, the iniquity of Israel is dated from the apostacy of Jeroboam, and that of Judah from the reformation under Josiah; and that, before the last deportation of the Israelites and total desolation of their land, it was not supposed to have ended.

Of these three events, on the character of which the truth of the prediction of Ezekiel depends, the last seems entitled to our earliest consideration; as it furnishes the chronological basis, from which both periods defined by the prophet are retrogressively computed. It seems, at first sight, to recommend itself by its internal fitness and consistency, as intended by him to mark the time, at which a period would be finally put to the national transgression. In the progressive manner, in which it consisted with the mercy of God, to carry his denunciations against the offenders into execution; their transportation from the land, which they had forfeited by their transgression, was effected at different and remote intervals. In three several years, corresponding with the seventh, the eighteenth and the twenty-third of the reigning king of Babylon, they were

led into captivity.* As the sentence denounced against the iniquitous houses of Israel and Judah was not carried fully into effect until the *last* deportation of Nebuchadnezzar; it seems unreasonable to date from any previous or subsequent event, the exact time of its accomplishment.

But the assumption may be established on the express authority of the prophet himself, who, even after the second deportation of Judah had taken effect, represents the measure of the national iniquity as not yet complete. After the capture of Jerusalem, while the short period of four years only remained to the final relegation of the remnant of Israel; he still represents their obstinacy in transgression as drawing down on the land the sentence of utter desolation. "Then the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, they that inhabit those wastes of the land of Israel speak, saying, Abraham was one, and he inherited the land: but we are many: the land is given us for inheritance. Wherefore say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Ye eat with the blood, and lift up your eyes towards your idols, and shed blood: and shall ye possess the land? Ye stand upon your sword, ye work abomination, and ye defile every one his neighbour's wife: and shall ye possess the land? Say thou thus unto them, Thus saith the Lord God: As I live

* Jer. lii. 28, 29, 30. 2 Kings, xxv. 8.

surely they that are in the wastes shall fall by the sword, and him that is in the open field will I give to the beasts to be devoured, and they that be in the fastnesses and in the caves shall die of the pestilence. For I will lay the land most desolate, and the pomp of her strength shall cease, and the mountains of Israel shall be desolate that none shall pass through. Then shall they know, that I am the Lord, when I have laid the land most desolate, because of their abominations which they have committed." *

1. That the period of the iniquity of Israel, to which the prophet assigned 390 years, is rightly computed from the second year of Jeroboam's reign, is not merely apparent from the concurrent testimony of the historian and prophet; but was alike proclaimed, at the time of the defection, and at the period of its retribution. In that remarkable year, the golden calves were set up by that idolatrous prince at Dan and Bethel. And but a short time elapsed from that open and contumacious dereliction of the true religion, when its enormity was denounced, and the consequences with which it would be visited expressly predicted. By the prophet Ahijah, to whom Jeroboam had sent, to consult him on a domestic calamity, it was thus early proclaimed, that the apostacy would be punished with the desolation of Israel.

* Ezek. xxxiii. 23—29. cf. ibid. 21.

"The Lord," as he solemnly declared, "shall smite Israel as a reed is shaken in the water, and he shall root up Israel *out of this good land*, which he gave to their fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the river, because they have made their groves, provoking the Lord to anger. And he shall give Israel up, because of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, *and who made Israel to sin*." * At the time when this sentence was carried into execution; when the sceptre was wrested from the last monarch of Israel, and the great mass of his subjects were led into captivity; the calamities, with which they were visited, are deduced from the sins into which they were seduced, by the influence and example of the royal apostate. To this effect the inspired historian delivers himself, in drawing to a close the last scene of their annals. "For the Lord," he declares, "rent Israel from the house of David; and they made Jeroboam the son of Nebat king: and Jeroboam drave Israel from following the Lord, *and made them sin a great sin.* For the children of Israel walked *in all the sins of Jeroboam* which he did: they departed not from them: until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the prophets."†

2. That the period of Judah's iniquity, to which forty years are assigned by the prophet, is computed, with no less precision and truth, from the

* 1 Kings, xiv. 15, 16. † 2 Kings, xvii. 21—23.

reformation undertaken by Josiah, admits of establishment from the same inspired authority. The evil repute for which this crisis is noted, is deduced from the two reigns which preceded;* but takes its character from the circumstances with which it was particularly aggravated, in the reign of that pious prince, who made a last ineffectual effort for its amendment. That from this event, which occurred in the eighteenth year of his reign, the iniquity of Judah is properly deduced† might be collected from the single testimony of Jeremiah, whose ministry commenced nearly at that period.‡ In the exhortations and rebukes in which he addresses them, and represents them as unremittingly addressed by the prophets,§ the state of moral degradation in which they were sunk is but too plainly apparent. To the pertinacity with which they resisted every invitation to amendment, the criminality with which they are charged may be traced, or the extent of its enormity may be measured. In rejecting the messengers who were deputed to address them as ambassadors from God, they slighted the authority of him who deputed them as his representatives. While they thus abused the opportunities allowed them for repentance, they not only refused to follow the course which was prescribed, but obstinately persisted in that

* 2 Kings, xxiii. 26, 27. xxiv. 2, 3.
† 2 Chron. xxxv. 19.
‡ Jer. i. 1, 2.
§ Ibid. xxv. 4, 5.

which was interdicted. In the moral exhortations of the prophets we consequently find a just delineation of the depraved state of the national manners. An instance and confirmation of the remark has been already adduced from the terms of reproach, in which the remnant, who retained possession of the land, after Jerusalem had fallen, are addressed by Ezekiel. In the extraordinary prediction, in which his contemporary Jeremiah fixes the period of the captivity, the picture of their depravity appears not less strikingly characterised, by the depth of its shadows than the fidelity of its resemblance. The testimony of this prophet is the more apposite, as he represents his ministry as extending nearly to the period, within which Ezekiel has comprised the iniquity of Judah. While he dates the commencement of his ministry, from the thirteenth year of Josiah, he shows from twenty-three years' experience of its effects, how ineffectual the means had proved which were employed for their conversion. "I have spoken unto you," he declares, "rising early and speaking; but ye have not hearkened. And the Lord hath sent unto you all his servants the prophets, rising early and sending them: but ye have not hearkened and inclined your ear to hear. They said, Turn ye again now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath given unto you and your fathers for ever and ever: and go not after other gods to serve them,

and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands; and I will do you no hurt. Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith the Lord, that ye might provoke me to anger with the works of your hands to your own hurt." *

3. The respective epochs of the periods foretold by the prophet, being so far identified with the reigns of the two princes of the rival houses of Israel and Judah, to which they obviously refer; the verification of the prediction, in both its members, may be now effected with ease. The last deportation of the Jews, from which their termination is dated, occurred four years after the fall of Jerusalem, before the arms of Nebuchadnezzar: and as that city was dismantled and razed to the ground by its Chaldean conquerors, in the year B. C. 588, the last transportation of the natives to Babylon, took place in the year 584, of the same era. If from this year, assumed as the basis of the computation, the prophetical periods of 390 and 40 years be respectively taken in ascent; we shall arrive at the years B. C. 624 and 974 as the epochs of the iniquity of Judah and Israel. On an inspection of the most reputed system of chronology, it will appear, that the earlier date coincides with the opening of the second year of Jeroboam, the later with the eighteenth year of Josiah, with

* Jer. xxv. 3—7.

each of which the epochs of both periods have been identified. At the earlier date, (974) the King of Israel, rejecting the priesthood of the Levitical succession, consecrated priests of the lowest of the people, to the idolatrous worship, which he had made the established religion of his dominions. At the later, (624) the Jewish king, in undertaking the reformation of religion, entered on the purification of the temple, and the restoration of the public worship: and having overthrown the idolatrous altars, which, until that time, had polluted the land, purged it of its abominable rites. These two dates, which are separated precisely 350 years, acquire an associated connexion, by the erection of an altar under the one king, which gave rise to a remarkable prophecy;* that received as remarkable a verification, under the other, when it was overthrown and defiled with the bones of the dead.† By this associated connexion of their epochs, a parallelism is preserved between those periods, by which any objection to which they may be exposed, as deduced from arbitrary dates, is effectually removed. In the exactitude, with which fragments so severed and disjointed, fit to each other, when united, the evidence seems decisive, that the hand, by which they were originally framed, had designed them to form a perfect whole.

* 1 Kings, xiii. 2. † 2 Kings, xxiii. 15, 16.

It may be cursorily observed, that on the termination of both periods of the prophecy, to which a common close has been assigned, the sabbatical year directly commenced. There was a suitableness in this arrangement, as corresponding with the intentions and ordinances of the Divinity; who had menaced the houses of Israel and Judah, with abduction from the promised land, that it might be left "to enjoy her sabbaths." The propriety is no less obvious, that circumstances should be so ordered, that neither of the periods which closed at this remarkable term, should be measured by revolutions of that cycle. As they were terms prescribed to iniquity; there would have been obviously an unsuitableness in measuring them by the returns of a year, which was instituted as preparatory to that holy rest, which is the ultimate end of the Divine Dispensations, and of which the sabbatical distribution of time was typical in every division.

It cannot be further necessary to recapitulate the particulars which have been reviewed in detail; in order to establish the accuracy and inspiration of the prophet, in determining the period of the national existence of Israel and Judah, by the time of their transgression. The strong opposition, which the subject, that has passed in review, exhibits of the divine forbearance and mercy, contrasted with human perverseness and corruption, recommends it to our attention, for

its moral influences, when compared with which merely speculative remarks excite but a languid and barren interest.

In the entire scheme of prophecy, of which I have thus far taken a cursory survey, we behold a system of providential interposition, for the recovery of a people, who maintained, in neglect of every warning, and in defiance of every menace, their scepticism and iniquity. In the times chosen for the appeals which were made to their interest or their feelings; in the promises employed to animate their hopes, and the denunciations used to alarm their apprehensions; in the inducements held forth to repentance, and the means provided for reformation; the characters of forbearance, mercy and long-suffering uniformly distinguish the divine dispensations. In the moment of danger, or the hour of affliction, the inspired messenger was deputed to raise the voice of exhortation and rebuke, to propose the terms of acceptance, or denounce the penalty of transgression. To invite at once and facilitate their return to duty, the temple was prepared for their reception; the sanctuary was purified from its pollutions, and the national worship restored in its pristine purity and splendor. But deaf to every remonstrance, and hardened against every threat, they received each appeal to them, with negligence or contempt: heard, with equal indifference, the

prophet who addressed them in the hour of invasion or of captivity; were unmoved alike, by the fervid energy of Isaiah, or the deep pathos of Ezekiel. In vain was the House of God thrown open for their reception by the piety of Hezekiah; or the national worship restored by the zeal of Josiah. Whatever might be the authority, with which they were addressed; they were alike insensible to the voice of rebuke or admonition. In reply to the inspired messengers, who spoke to them by deputation from God, they answered not merely with a contempt for his menaces, but with a distrust in his providence: "the Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth," * were the terms in which every menace was answered. Or if they did not renounce the authority, on which the divine legate addressed them, slighted his denunciations, as reserved for distant times and future generations, and reconciled themselves to their disobedience with the delusive hope;—that "the vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of times that are far off."† It is, therefore, surely most consonant to all our notions of the divine attributes to suppose, that the plea of mercy should have at length yielded to the demand of justice, and that a degree of punishment, apportioned to the enormity of the offence, should

* Ezek. viii. 12. † Ibid. xii. 27.

have overtaken the deliberate, impenitent sinner; that the omnipotent arm, which had been long raised in terror, should have at length descended in wrath, and the sentence which had been so long suspended should be summarily executed: that the menace which God had so long and ineffectually uttered, he should at length carry into effect;—"They shall fall by the sword, by the famine and the pestilence.... So will I stretch out my hand upon them and make the land desolate, yea more desolate than the wilderness towards Diblath, in all their habitations: and they shall know that I am the Lord." *

From every thing which we learn of the event, this sentence was carried into effect, with a degree of accuracy, on which it is appalling to reflect, even at this distance from its occurrence. In four years, from the date of its utterance, Jerusalem was delivered up to the horrors of a protracted siege. While assailed by a powerful and implacable army from without, it became the prey to famine and pestilence from within. For eighteen months it was beset; when sinking under the heavy visitation with which it was oppressed, the enemy possessed themselves of its walls; death itself, though sudden and violent, being hailed by the inhabitants, as a relief from the slow and protracted sufferings with

* Ezek. vi. 12, 14.

which they were consumed. Of the sad alternative to which they exposed themselves, in tempting the fury of an exasperated enemy; the few simple and affecting touches to which the historian confines his narrative, conveys an idea, which no labor of description could probably heighten or exceed. "They slew their young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion on young man or maiden, old man or him that stoopeth for age."* When satiated at length with indiscriminate carnage, they directed their fury against the city, which had so long resisted their arms. The small remnant which had survived the first onset of the assailants; "they that escaped from the sword," who were "carried away captive to Babylon;" beheld its walls razed to the ground, its noblest structures consuming in flames, and where the temple once raised its turrets and pinnacles, a shapeless and smouldering pile of ruins.

Would we, however, form a competent idea of the dreadful retribution, with which a race, thus spared and warned, menaced and recalled, were at length overtaken, our attention should be directed to the afflictions with which this devoted city was visited before its fall. To the picture of its aggravated horrors, which the prophet has

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

drawn, no force or vividness can be added by the strongest coloring of the imagination. In the delineation of the lingering torture, with which he represents them as consumed; he converts us from readers into spectators. While he invokes them, by the most passionate apostrophes to implore for mercy, he addresses our sympathies with an effect, which is not to be attained by the detail of merely fictitious sorrows. "Arise, cry out in the night;" are his affecting words, "in the beginning of the watches, pour out thine heart before the face of the Lord; lift up thy hands towards him for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger, at the top of every street....The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets: the virgins and young men are fallen by the sword: thou hast slain them in the day of thine anger; thou hast killed and not pitied."* If the afflicting scenes which the prophet describes, with the impressive fidelity of an eye-witness, be calculated to strike us with horror in the detail; with what agonizing effects must the dreadful reality have been attended upon those who survived the departed glory of Zion! For the description of affliction proceeds,—"The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst; the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them. They that

* Lam. ii. 19—21.

did feed delicately are desolate in the streets: they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills.... Their visage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick. They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain with hunger: for these pine away, stricken through for want of the fruits of the field. The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children: they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people. The Lord hath accomplished his fury; he hath poured out his fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof."*

While we deduce from this unparalleled example of the retributive justice of God, the salutary lesson which it is intended to inculcate; let it not be forgotten, that in thus giving up Judah to the fury of an implacable enemy, the Lord merely withdrew from her that providence, which she blindly refused to acknowledge, or had contumaciously rejected and despised: and that to the last unavoidable result, of withdrawing his protection, and resigning her to the resources in which she put her trust, he had not recourse, until all consistent means had been beneficently tried, to obviate the consequences which follow-

* Lam. iv. 4, 5, 8—11.

ed. Before the angel of destruction proceeded on the work of desolation, or the phials of divine wrath were poured out, the prophet's warning voice was heard to proclaim the day of retribution and vengeance. It may be indeed averred, that no consequence ensued, until the sufferer was prepared for its approach by solemn and repeated warnings. In the prediction of Ezekiel, which fixed the period alike of the iniquity of Israel and Judah, the siege of Jerusalem is not only foretold, but the number of the days consumed in it is clearly intimated. However dreadful and appalling, beyond all that had been experienced and conceived, the calamities finally proved, which Jerusalem witnessed, in the hour of retribution; they could not have come, unexpectedly and by surprise, upon those to whom the menace had been conveyed through the prophet, eleven years before it was carried into execution. "I will do in thee that which I have not done, and whereunto I will not do any more the like, because of all thine abominations. Therefore the fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee, and the sons shall eat their fathers: and I will execute judgments in thee, and the whole remnant of thee will I scatter to the winds.... A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee: and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee, and

I will scatter a third part unto all the winds, and I will draw a sword after thee. Thus shall mine anger be accomplished: and they shall know that I the Lord have spoken it in my zeal, when I have accomplished my fury in them."*

* Ezek. v. 8, 9, 12, 13.

# LECTURE IV.

## 2 CHRON. XXXVI. 20, 21.

"Them that had escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him and his sons, until the reign of the king of Persia: to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years."

IN following the course of the Jewish history, during the period of seventy years, by which the events of the captivity and the restoration of Israel are here connected; the sacred author describes the method observed by Divine Providence, in controlling the destinies of that people, as pursuing its accustomed tenor. We discover in them, the usual characters, which distinguish the extraordinary interpositions, from the ordinary dispensations of the Almighty; which prophecy asserts, and establishes by the certainty of its accomplishment.

In the great national revolutions, to which the inspired historian alludes in the text; not merely in announcing the return of the captive people

to their native land, but in declaring the rise of the dominant nation, by whom their oppressors would be in turn subdued, and their own liberation effected: we receive a proof of the power, by which the course of events that he describes was controlled and directed. For, in considering the great national revolutions which he records, if we fail to discern the immediate interference of the Divinity, in accomplishing the result, we must acknowledge it, in its anticipation, by the prophet, as not to be computed in the ordinary exercise of human sagacity. To judge of the precariousness of the event, of which he not only declared the result, but determined the period of its occurrence; we need not appeal to the casualties, on which the ascendancy of the Persian power over the Babylonian depended. These casualties we know, the fate of a single battle decided; and from the result when determined, we must see, the restoration of the Jews could hardly be conjectured. The true source, from whence a foreknowledge, so certain and precise was derived, of events not merely above computation, but contrary to expectation, can be therefore to us no matter of ambiguity. Could we even suppose, that the great political changes, in which the prediction received its accomplishment, might be foreseen by human sagacity; in its character as chronological,—as determining not merely the occurrence but the date of the

event,—we should have a proof of the divine source from whence it issued. In the quality of positive knowledge, as opposed to fortunate conjecture, to which it thence established its claims, we should at once recognise the direct intervention of that providence, which in compassing its ends by free, yet feeble and fallible agents, could alone pronounce with certainty on the future, as remote and contingent.

Nor should we, in estimating the prediction before us, merely regard the essential character, by which chronological and ordinary prophecies are distinguished; that the date of a distant and contingent event is determined with precision. From the nature of the incidents which it discloses, additional evidence arises, that they owe their communication to the divine revelation; their importance and magnitude is such as may be supposed to engage the divine interposition, and to place them beyond the possibility of owing their accomplishment to human authority or contrivance. In predicting the transfer of authority, from the Chaldeans to the Persians, which led to the liberation of the Jews, it gives us incidentally an insight into the destinies of two of the great nations of antiquity, who swayed, in succession, the empire of the world. But far beyond this, it represents the divine providence as engaged in advancing a great moral purpose, that infinitely transcended, in its importance,

the greatest civil revolutions of which the earth has been the theatre. In the restoration of the Jews, and the re-establishment of the Jewish temple and religion, which was consequent to the transfer of the sovereignty of the east from the Babylonians to the monarchs of Persia; it exhibits a vast scheme in the progress of accomplishment, for the recovery of the human species from the debasing effects of sin and error. The captive people, in resuming their native land, were not merely instrumental, in conveying a proof, that the divine purposes for accomplishing this great end, were not to be frustrated by human obduracy or perverseness; or in bringing confirmation, in their history, to the truth of the prophetical scheme, which would demonstrate to the end of time, and the limits of the world, that an extraordinary providence was engaged in accomplishing this mighty purpose. They were still further occupied, in reducing a preparatory discipline to practice, which would ripen, with the course of years, and the growth of intellectual improvement, into a religious system of absolute perfection and universal adaptation, for the regeneration of all mankind: by which a great reformation would be effected, when compared with which, the noblest schemes of human policy sink into insignificance, and the greatest civil revolutions seem poor and contemptible.

I. In the accommodation of the unchangeable

purposes of God to the moral freedom of his creatures, it became necessary, that the scheme, thus beneficently set in process of accomplishment, should receive a temporary suspension. With a contrary intention, the promise of immediate and permanent rest in an allotted land, had been given to a chosen people under the conditions of a covenant, solemnly ratified. But, on the violation of the stipulated terms, their expulsion became necessary to the vindication of the majesty of the higher contracting power. In awarding the punishment, thus justly incurred, the divine purposes, although impeded and thwarted for a while, were not, however, diverted from their original object. Of the sabbatism, which was reserved, and which still "remains for the people of God,"* the immediate transgressors had proved themselves unworthy. But that the purpose of God might remain sure, it was ordered, that "the land should enjoy her sabbaths:" for, as we are assured in the words of the text, "as long as she lay desolate, she kept sabbath, for threescore and ten years; to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah."

As far as this discussion has hitherto proceeded, the assumption, made at its commencement, easily admits of a proof, that the chronological prophecies form a connected series; in which we behold revealed in their order, the great events

* Heb. iv. 9.

in the history of God's dealings with mankind; which, as it comprises the subject, has been offered as a definition of Revelation. Confining our present attention to that part of the divine dispensation, in which the Jews were the principal actors, to whom the promises were made over, under a carnal and shadowy dispensation; of the great events of their history, from the project of their first settlement in the land of Canaan, to the event of their deportation to Babylon, and restoration after the captivity; every epoch was the subject of an express revelation. To the patriarch Abraham, to whom the covenant was carnally sealed in circumcision, the period of the first oppression of his posterity, and the consequent time of their deliverance were expressly foreshown. The date of their subjection to the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and transportation from the land of which they had obtained possession, were no less clearly disclosed; the time of the removal of Israel having been as expressly foretold by Isaiah, as that of the deportation of Judah revealed by Ezekiel. To Jeremiah was committed the part of declaring the period to which the captivity would extend, and consequently of fixing the date of the restoration.

Of the great prophet, who was chosen to discharge this office, the accounts which have descended to us are more full and circumstantial; than those which have been transmitted of other persons of his age and function. It

appears from his own representation, that he was of the tribe of Benjamin, and of the priestly order. At an early age, he was deputed to the prophetical office, having been called to it at the remarkable time of the reformation of Josiah; from whence the period of the iniquity and rejection of Judah, which forms the epoch of his own prophecy on the Captivity, was computed by his contemporary, Ezekiel. In the fourth year of King Jehoiakim, from whence he dates that extraordinary prediction which engages our present attention, he had already discharged the sacred function above twenty-two years. From the commencement of that monarch's reign, the boldness with which he denounced the national vices, and proclaimed the retribution with which they would be visited, had provoked the opposition of those who were interested in maintaining the prevailing system of abuses, and had exposed him to their hostility. The persecutions which he consequently endured, from the false prophets and depraved priests, whom he held forth to public odium and contempt; extended through the reign of the same prince, and his immediate successor, in whom the line of Jewish sovereigns ended. The searching hand with which he had probed the moral disease of the nation, instead of effecting its cure, had irritated its morbid sensitiveness and rancor. He was arraigned as a traitor to his country, and a secret abettor of the views of its

enemies. Having thus rendered himself equally obnoxious to the civil and ecclesiastical rulers, by the freedom of his rebukes, and the severity of his denunciations; in menacing them with the ruin of the temple, and the desolation of the land, from whence he declared their abduction into captivity was determined: he was at length seized and cast into prison. Nor did he regain his freedom until he was liberated by the victorious monarch, who carried his denunciations against the land and city into execution; and thus verified the severest of the predictions which had inflamed their resentment.

From the history of the inspired person, who was the victim of such unmerited persecution, we derive at once an evidence of the moral pravity in which the Jewish nation was sunk, and a justification of the severe retribution with which their transgressions were menaced by the prophet. Of the various denunciations, of which he was deputed to be the organ, none surpasses in interest and importance the prediction to which the text alludes; and which seems from the observation in the text, to have commended itself by those qualities to the sacred historian. The date of its delivery is accordingly marked with extraordinary precision; and its subject is disclosed with a fullness and solemnity, befitting its importance. It opens with a formal declaration of the invitations to repentance, and the

denunciations of wrath, by which the prophet had long sought to avert the impending evils. Having declared the intentions of God, whose vengeance was openly defied, "to send and take all the families of the north, and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bring him against the land and against the inhabitants thereof, and all the nations round about, until he utterly destroyed them;"* he subjoins the remarkable prediction, which claims our particular consideration. "And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years."†

II. In entering on the task of submitting this passage to a more close and critical scrutiny; little time need be employed, in determining the precise period of history, sacred or profane, to which we are to turn for the evidence of its accomplishment. Whatever be the differences of opinion which have arisen from the consideration, that the inhabitants of the land, on which sentence was passed, were draughted from it at different intervals; little hesitation can be felt, in dating the period of their subjection, from the time when the sentence was *first* carried into execution. In computing a specific number of years, the commencement of the term is necessarily fixed in the determination of the close of it; the latter point

* Jer. xxv. 9. † Ibid. xxv. 11.

is however placed beyond ambiguity, by the inspired historian, in the text, and no less explicitly marked by the prophet in his context. While the interval of "seventy years" is represented, by the one, as ending with the rise of the Persian monarchy; it is described, by the other, as closing with the cessation of the Babylonian. Thus far, the prophet, who must be admitted to supply the best comment on his own text, places his meaning beyond doubt or cavil. "And it shall come to pass, *when seventy years are accomplished*, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." *

1. As the Chaldean monarchy ended on the capture of its capital Babylon by the Persians; to the interval between this event, and the first deportation of the Jews, under Jehoiakim, which according to the rudest computation, preceded the fall of that city by about seventy years, our inquiries after the period of the captivity must be, therefore, necessarily directed. In the exposition of a prophecy, which is strictly chronological, it is, however, expedient, that the epoch from which it is dated, should be precisely determined. From the *fourth* year of the reign of king Jehoiakim, in which, we are informed by the

* Jer. xxv. 12.

prophet himself in the opening of his subject, that he delivered the prediction, it has been accordingly assumed, the *first* year of the captivity should be computed. But the evidence of one, who was among the earliest of the captives, is sufficient to prove, that in this supposition, the date of the delivery of the prophecy is confounded with the epoch of the term which it predicted. The testimony of Daniel, who was carried to Babylon, is express, that the computation should be antedated precisely a year to that event. "In the *third* year," he declares, "of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand." * From the tenor of what is subjoined, by the inspired writer, it may be collected, that "with part of the vessels of the house of God, certain of the children of the house of Israel, and of the king's seed and of the princes,"† among whom the prophet himself was included, were at that time led captive to Babylon.

It seems plain, therefore, that in determining the epoch of the Captivity from the context of Jeremiah, rather than from the text of Daniel; the scope and object of the former prophet, in defining the period of the Captivity, has been wholly misapprehended. The desire to extend

* Dan. i. 1, 2. † Ibid. i. 2, 3.

the terms of the prophecy, which merely declares the desolation of Judea, so as to include in it the fall of Jerusalem, has led to the misconception. But if a moderate share of attention is bestowed on his text, it will be obvious, that he explicitly declares, the evils with which the inhabitants were menaced, would fall upon the land, not on the city of which the enemy was already in possession. "This *whole land* shall be a desolation, and an astonishment: and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon *seventy years.*"* To other and earlier prophets the part had been consigned, to state the judgments which impended over the capital of Judea; and had been declared by them, many years previously to their being carried into execution. By him on whom the province now devolved, to determine the term of the captivity, at the close of which the nation would be restored, and the city would rise, with renovated splendour, from its ruins; the ungracious office would have been discharged, with as little advantage to his ministry, as the object of his mission. It was of as slight importance to his prophetical credit, as to the event foretold, whether the revelation of it was delivered, after the commencement of the term, or during its continuance. His object having been that of dis-

* Jer. xxv. 11.

closing, not the commencement, but the term of the captivity; provided the disclosure was made some years previously to its termination, and of consequence its accomplishment, it was perfectly insignificant to his purpose, at what time it was uttered, and from what epoch computed.

It may be concluded, therefore, from a comparative view of the testimony of Daniel and Jeremiah; that the prophecy of "the seventy years" was delivered by the latter prophet, when Jerusalem had already fallen into the hands of the Chaldeans. The occasion of its delivery must be consequently sought, in the expedition, undertaken by the Babylonian monarch who had reduced it, against the king of Egypt. To the latter of these hostile princes, Jehoiakim had owed his elevation to the throne of Judah; on his brother Jehoahaz having been deposed, and led by him, into captivity.* In the contest for universal empire, which ensued, between the rival kingdoms of Egypt and Babylon;† the king of Judah was naturally induced to rely for aid and protection, on the monarch to whom he was indebted for his kingdom: clinging by the shrub, as he fell, which had assisted him in ascending. While the result of the impending contest between the hostile kings was dubious; the fate of the battle not

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. † Ibid. xxxv. 20. sq.

having been tried, by which it was decided; occasion was taken by Jeremiah, to state the effect with which the result would be attended on the destinies of Judea and the surrounding countries. The subjection to which Jerusalem had been reduced by the Babylonians, and from which its deliverance was vainly expected through the Egyptians, the prophet not only declared would be permanent, but in limiting it to seventy years, assigns the precise period of its duration. In subversion of the illusory hope of deliverance from Egypt, he foretells the speedy subjection of that kingdom by the Babylonian conqueror; and announces, that the victorious nation by whom "the city of Jerusalem" had been lately subdued, would be led against "the land of Judea," to complete its desolation for the predicted period. With an insight into the future, which was only to be attained by inspiration, he proceeds to disclose, that, as the departing glories of the declining monarchy faded from the west, the splendor of its rival, which its presence had subdued, should light up the eastern horizon. Against all moral probability, he declares that, at the expiration of the appointed time, the fortunes of the victors and of the vanquished would undergo a total revolution; as the crisis of the emancipation of the Jews would be coincident with the subjugation of the Babylonians.

2. As the commencement of the period prescribed, by the prophet, to the captivity, is thus accurately fixed; the close of the term may be determined with equal precision. In the decree issued for the restoration of the Jews, a copy of which has been preserved by their historians, the date of the occurrence is inserted. And this instrument, under which their liberation was effected, is given a bearing upon the prophecy, in which the period of its accomplishment is determined. "Now in *the first year* of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, all the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me; and he hath charged me to build him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah." *

The establishment of Cyrus in the sovereignty of the east was the work of time: it seems therefore necessary to the precision, required in a prophecy strictly chronological, that the exact date of the event, from which its accomplishment is computed, should be precisely determined. His authority, as the conqueror of

* Ezra, i. 1, 2.

Babylon, having derived permanence and stability, from the fall of that great city, with which the independence of the Chaldean empire expired; a disposition has arisen among the expositors of the prophecy, to date the decree for the restoration of the Jews, from the capture of the Chaldean capital. But in such an undertaking, they seem to be as little borne out, by the tenor of the decree itself, as by the succession of the Median and Persian monarchs, and the circumstances which attended the establishment of Cyrus in the empire of the eastern world.

On the fall of Babylon, by the arms of that prince, it is expressly stated by Daniel that the kingdom passed to Darius the Median.* In the instrument issued for the return of the Jews, and the erection of the temple, Cyrus not only terms himself "king of Persia," but declares, that "the Lord God of heaven had given him all the nations of the earth." It may be, however, collected, on the faith of history, from the length assigned to the reigns of his father Cambyses and his uncle Cyaxares, that two years had elapsed from the fall of Babylon, before he succeeded to the throne of Persia and Media, which were respectively governed by those monarchs. How little disposed he was, in laying the foun-

* Dan. v. 31.

dation of a new empire, to usurp the authority of either of those kings, to whose assistance he owed his success upon the Chaldean capital, may be collected from the moderation which he showed at the time of its reduction; as he then ceded all right to the Chaldean empire to the Median king, by whom it was governed for two years, according to the concurrent testimony of sacred and profane writers.

Had history been silent on the subject, it might be collected from the nature and magnitude of Cyrus's conquests, that such a period of time must have elapsed, from the reduction of Babylon, before his arms had so far extended over western Asia, as to justify his claiming the dominion of "all the kingdoms of the earth." On the fall of the capital, he made a great muster of his forces, and proceeded to reduce the more distant provinces, which owed subjection to the Chaldeans. In prosecuting this design, he proceeded to subjugate Syria, and extended the bounds of his conquests as far as the Red Sea and the borders of Ethiopia. It cannot be supposed, unless by conceiving the course of nature reversed, that any measures should have been taken by him, for planting a colony in those countries, before they were reduced. Ere the seed is committed to the ground, or the shrub removed, the soil must undergo the preparation of the husbandman. It is not therefore to be

imagined, unless in violation of all probability, that before the second year had nearly elapsed, from the commencement of that expedition, an army could have proceeded on it, and returned from it, having completely accomplished their purposed object. It is of consequence inconceivable, that, until that period had intervened from the capture of Babylon, the decree for the restoration of the Jews could have been issued. In the course of his expedition against Syria and Egypt, Cyrus must have been convinced of the policy of throwing up this rampart for the defence of his conquests; by restoring the captive nation to their independence. While they continued faithful allies to their Persian liberators, they would contribute to give stability to their distant provinces; their position between those ancient rival nations, the Assyrians and Egyptians, enabling them to act as a check upon their mutual schemes of ambition.

We may conclude, therefore, from the general tenor of history as well sacred as profane, that the proclamation, for the return of the Jews, cannot be dated before the second year from the capture of Babylon: on the return of Cyrus, from his Syrian expedition, to Ecbatana, where we are informed it was enrolled as it was afterwards discovered.* As we know, however, that

* Ezra, vi. 2.

the fall of that city occurred in the year 608 before the Christian era; the Captivity as extending to seventy years, must have consequently commenced in the year 606, and have closed in the year 536 of the same era. And as these are respectively the dates which are precisely assigned, in the best digested systems of chronology, to "the third year of Jehoiakim," and to "the first of Cyrus," on his accession to the empire of the East; in the interval thus determined, as extending precisely to the time revealed, the prediction finds the most exact accomplishment.

III. In the choice, however, as well of the period itself, as of the particular series of years to which it extended, there is a fitness and propriety; to which the inspired writer alludes in the text. As evincing the wisdom and design that characterise the spirit in which this extraordinary prophecy was delivered, it seems not undeserving our attention. The sacred historian, in his application of the prophecy to the term of the captivity, includes the following particulars in the object with which it was delivered;—"to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until *the land had enjoyed her sabbaths:* for as long as she lay desolate *she kept sabbath,* to fulfil threescore and ten years." *

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

On the nature of the sabbatical year, I formerly offered some observations; and pointed out its connexion—with the peculiar promise given to the Israelites, of rest in the land of Canaan; and—with the particular punishment of their expulsion from that land, on their violation of that covenant, under which it was received and retained in possession. The return of the sabbatism of a year's length, thus solemnly consecrated to rest and religion, was determined as was then observed by a septennial cycle; the revolution of which depended upon a fixed epoch, from which there was no deviation. In illustration of the allusion to these periods, in the text, it should be observed, that by them the term of the captivity, as limited to *seventy* years, was obviously determined; so many years amounting precisely to ten of those cycles. It was likewise ordained, that the commencement of the term should fall in that part of the series of sacred years, thus determined; which was best calculated to promote the object for which they were at first instituted, and to attain the end with which the sacred historian declares, in the text, the prophecy was delivered.

From the extraordinary precision with which the date of the prediction, and the circumstances under which it was delivered have been recorded, it may be collected, that it was not merely published at the beginning of the sabba-

tical year, but upon the very day of its commencement. At the dictation of the prophet, as he assures us himself, the whole of the prophecies, which he had uttered from the commencement of his ministry, and among which the prediction before us was included, were committed to writing, by his disciple, Baruch the scribe. By him they were recited, in the temple, before the congregation of Israel, on the great day of expiation; when, at the commencement of the year, the whole nation were required to repair to Jerusalem. During the sabbatical year, which directly ensued, and the ten cycles with which it was succeeded, the land obtained rest, as remaining in subjugation to the Chaldeans. At the close of this period, when the Jews were restored to their native country, the interval, but of one year remained to the opening of that, which they were bound by their religion to reverence as a perpetual sabbath. Had not a provision been thus providentially made, for the cultivation of the land on their return; they must have been destitute of the means of sustenance, for nearly two years, from the time of their restoration; or have violated the command to hallow the seventh, by abstaining from labour. In this interval, preparations were equally made for rebuilding the temple, the foundation of which was thus deferred to the following year, which proves to have been sabbatical; the sacredness

of the time having added to the solemnity of the ceremony, with which that great work was undertaken.

On thus regarding the period of the captivity, in immediate reference to the sabbatical system; whether we consider its length or its character, its commencement or its close, we cannot fail to be struck with the fitness and design with which it was ordered. In the rest, in which the Israelites had been established in the promised land; the eternal sabbath, reserved for "the people of God, in a better and heavenly country," * was prefigured. With a view to the promise, given with this object to the patriarchs, the Jewish ceremonial had been framed; that holy rest, from the original curse of toil and sorrow, having been commemorated in it, by various sabbaths of days, weeks, months and years; which were sanctified by a cessation from labour, and a devotion to religion. The covenant under which these conditions had been formally stipulated, as I have already intimated, having been violated, the right was necessarily forfeited, under which it was held in possession. The inhabitants having been consequently expelled from the land; it was with extraordinary fitness and consistency contrived, that their punishment should be the means of carrying the

* Heb. iv. 9, xi. 16.

purposes of God into execution. For, as the sacred historian declares in the text, "as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years."

On connecting the extremes which are separated by the lapse of this period; the least considerate mind cannot fail to be impressed with a just sense of the nature and dispensations of that adorable Being, whose attributes are equally calculated to awaken our love and to command our reverence. In the method in which they exhibit justice tempered with mercy; the divine goodness and beneficence are no less conspicuous in the limit set to the period of his estrangement, than in the means,—of prevention to which he condescended to obviate the necessity of punishment, and of encouragement to requite their well meant exertions.

In the Covenant, to which it was his good pleasure to become a party with his creatures; the terms proposed on his part were conditional. In requiring them to observe his laws, to reverence his sabbaths, and hallow his sanctuary, without fulfilling which he led them to expect nothing from his bounty; as I formerly took occasion to observe, he gave them promise of rest and security, and ratified it with the most solemn asseveration. And although the violation of the compact, on their part, would have justified their immediate and total rejection from

his favour, he was pleased to limit the period of his estrangement; the visitation to which they were subject, having been as signally accommodated to the nature of their transgression, as it was disproportionate to its enormity. Having consequently removed them at a distance from the land, which they had polluted with their iniquities; having placed them beyond the possibility of dishonouring his service, until the land should enjoy that rest, which they had denied it, by their disorders; he did not suffer his indignation to survive its provocation, but allowed it to pass away with the offending generation, which in violating his covenant, had renounced his protection, and abjured his authority.

Yet even while they had thus withdrawn themselves from his providential care, they were not left without invitations to return to their allegiance, or warnings of the consequences of persisting in their apostacy. The function and character of the inspired order, by whom the terms of reconciliation and amnesty were proposed; who gave reiterated proof of the authority with which they spoke, in the certainty with which the event foretold followed the prediction: as it aggravated the guilt of those who rejected reproof or admonition, exhibited, in a more endearing light, that gracious Being,

whose forbearance and long suffering were not to be exhausted by renewed provocation.

But to obtain a perception, however feeble, of the brightness of that countenance, which, with a subdued and placid glory, beams upon his works, that are every where impressed with the evidence of his goodness and mercy; we must raise the eye of faith to that "better and heavenly country," which he has prepared for those that love him, which with a light, surpassing that of the sun and moon, we are taught to believe, he will illumine with the brightness of his presence.*. We must look, beyond the low and gloomy vale of our present sojourn, to that joyful state, which in its designation as a sabbatism, includes the notion of rest and holiness; in their delineations of which, the inspired seers to whom it was revealed, have exhausted the powers of language, and imagery of description. In the visions unfolded to their enraptured sense, paradise appears renewed, in its original peace and loveliness. Within its sacred bounds, from which corruption and violence are excluded, "there shall in no wise enter any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination." † As the savage races shall change their instincts, and forget their antipathies, "the wolf

* Is. lx. 20. Rev. xxi. 23. † Rev. xxi. 27.

shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid." Where peril has hitherto beset the path, the innocent shall sport unharmed, and lay down its head in unsuspecting security: for "the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den."*

The possibility, that this state of tranquil happiness may be renewed upon earth, the nature of that "new and better Covenant," into which it is our privilege to be admitted, forbids us to call in question. Were the precepts which it inculcates reduced to practice, no doubt could be felt, that the fiercer passions would be disarmed, and the corrupt desires be utterly extinguished. And were they once laid at rest, as little could arise, that the horrors of war, and the tumults of riotous excess, would be for ever extinct. As the charity which it inculcates, was prompt to administer comfort and consolation, distress would be rarely if at all known: while the sanctity which it breathes, infused a purity not only into the words and works, but the intentions and inclinations. In the spot, upon which the Spirit, thus pure and peaceful, should rest, the highest idea would be realised, that we can conceive of heaven.

* Is. lx. 18.

To the inheritance which the carnal Israelites forfeited, we have been chosen; as regenerated, by a new and spiritual birth, to coheirship with him, to whom, as Abraham's seed, the promises were properly given. "Let us therefore fear, lest a promise being left us, of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it .... For we which have believed do enter into rest . . . Seeing therefore it remaineth that some must enter therein, and they to whom it was first preached entered not in because of unbelief . . . Let us labour to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief."*

* Heb. iv. 1, 3, 6, 11.

# LECTURE V.

## DAN. VIII. 13, 14.

"Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

IN considering the system of prophecy, as a connected series, in which the purposes of God, in reference to the final destination of man, are progressively revealed; our views have been hitherto confined to the destinies of the peculiar race, to whom the divine promises were given, and to whose care the inspired oracles were committed. In the chronological predictions, which have, in such a light, engaged our attention, we have beheld a revelation, not only of the great revolutions sustained by the race so distinguished, but of the circumstances and the date of their occurrence. But from the time of their return to their native

land, after their captivity in Babylon the glory may be said to have departed from Sion.

From the time of the accomplishment of the last prophecy which passed under our review, and which predicted the period of the return to Jerusalem, the Jews continued tributaries to the dominant nation, which maintained a supremacy in Asia. Under the Persians, through whom they recovered their freedom, they obtained a considerable share of immunity and privilege; although the disposition of the court to favour their inveterate rivals, the Samaritans, raised considerable obstacles to the re-establishment of the national religion, and the erection of the temple: which was the main object of the restoration of the captive nation. When the empire of the East passed from the Persians to the Macedonians, and the conquests of Alexander were distributed among his successors; the Jews became subject to the Ptolemean dynasty, which succeeded to the kingdom of Egypt. But under Ptolemy Epiphanes, they transferred their allegiance from the Egyptians to the Syrians; Antiochus the Great having annexed Judea to his dominions, and transmitted it to his sons, Seleucus and Antiochus Epiphanes. Under the last of these princes, they sustained those reverses, of the remote causes of which the prophecies of Daniel contain so explicit an account; and of which the text predicts one of the most signal

and disastrous: the temple having been then polluted by the introduction of idols into the sanctuary, and the sacrifice of unclean victims on the altar.

During the whole nearly of ths period, from their liberation under Cyrus to their persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, they were under the government of the High Priest: who, in strict conformity to the nature of their polity, and the object of their restoration, became the highest functionary in the state. For the code to which they owed subjection was essentially ecclesiastical. It admitted of no distinction between duties of civil and religious obligation; and not only prescribed the plan according to which the temple should be constructed, but the order of the ceremonial, to be observed in it, when erected. Even on the recovery of their liberty, under the Hasmonæan dynasty, when "the sanctuary was cleansed;" they wisely adhered to this form of polity, as least likely to excite the jealousy of the Persian court, which claimed their allegiance. Although they acquired under that dynasty a share of power and independence, equal to that which they enjoyed under their kings; although the founder of it attained supreme authority, by his successes, he aspired at no higher rank than the pontifical.

The silence of prophecy, on the subject of the Jewish affairs, subsequent to the captivity, thus

finds an adequate explanation in the obscure and humble state, to which the nation sunk, on its restoration. Until the short but memorable period of their history to which the text alludes, no incident had occurred, of sufficient magnitude or importance, to require the legation of those winged messengers, who are charged with the disclosure of the divine purposes. But the persecution, to which they were now exposed, aimed at the subversion of the altar, and the extinction of the sacred fire; and, on the frustration of this design, at the extermination of the Jewish nation. In the first temporary success, with which this purpose was succeeded, the daily service of the temple was superseded by idolatrous rites; the statue of the Olympian Jupiter having been set up within its precincts. In that profanation of the sanctuary, an event so unexampled and enormous occurred, that it was deemed not unworthy of an express revelation. The conclusion of those critics is perhaps overstrained, who suppose, that to the very existence of the temple the perpetuity of the service was essential; and that the structure which had suffered defilement, became by a second consecration virtually a new temple. It may be, however, collected, from the general tenor of the prophetical writings, and from the effect which they had on the opinions of the Jews, that such an event was regarded as a national evil, the most heavy and disastrous. It must be,

therefore, hopeless and vain to look, with some fanciful expositors, beyond such a calamity, for the occurrence to which the prophet alludes, under the strong terms of "the abomination, and transgression of desolation." With such circumstances of aggravated enormity was the event attended, that if any incident may be thought to have engaged the attention of those ministering spirits, whom the prophet declares were overheard by him in his vision; by none that occurred, from the rebuilding of the temple under Cyrus, to its destruction, under Titus, does it seem to have been more urgently required.

The person chosen to prepare the nation for so calamitous a reverse was the prophet Daniel, on whose history a more convenient opportunity will occur to enlarge, when his principal predictions come under observation. After stating at the opening of the prophecy, of which the text is a part, the year of the monarch's reign, under whom the vision was revealed; as necessary to identify the time of the visitation which it portended, he proceeds briefly to declare the great revolutions in the polity of the east by which it would be preceded. Having thus proclaimed the transfer of the Asiatic sceptre to the Medes and Persians, and its descent to the Macedonians; and having announced the great political convulsion, by which the last empire would be rent into four kingdoms, he enters into a circumstantial and forcible de-

scription of the tyrant, to whom God would consign the execution of his purposes on the devoted nation.

I. It would lead me from my purpose to enter particularly into the subject of the prophecy: as tracing the political revolutions of the eastern empires. But as necessary to the identification of the precise time, to which the prediction in the text alludes; the connexion which the prophet marks, between their declining authority, and the profanation of the temple and persecution of the Jewish nation, demands a closer attention. After having declared that "*four kingdoms* should stand up of the" Greek "nation, but not in the power of the first king;"* he directly subjoins, "And *in the latter time* of their kingdom, when *the transgressors are come to the full*, a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences shall stand up . . . . . and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people."† By the two characters,—thus identified with the departure of power from the Macedonians, and the filling up the measure of the iniquity of the Jews,—not only the express time of the prediction, but the very epoch of it is determined.

For, in the first place, it must be surely regarded as an event, rather providential than casual, that, in the very year when the profana-

* Dan. viii 21, 22. † Ibid. 23.

tion of the temple occurred, and the decree was issued for the extirpation of the Jews, the contest for the supreme authority, between the Greeks and the Romans, was decided by the defeat of the last of the Macedonian monarchs; from the extinction of which dynasty, historians are accustomed to date the transfer of empire to the conquerors. The genius of Rome having now become lord of the ascendant; from this time her senate were the arbiters of the destiny of the east, and the composers of all its differences, until it was reduced under her absolute dominion. Nor is it less deserving of note, that with the transfer of empire, the defilement of the sacred vessels is given a connexion by the prophet; which fully proves, that he did not regard the coincidence as undesigned or accidental. He is explicit in recounting their desecration by the Chaldean monarch, from whom he declares the Asiatic empire passed to the Medes and Persians; imputing to the sacrilege of Belshazzar the last prince, the loss of his life as well as of his kingdom.* Under the cruel persecutor, Antiochus, to whom the text particularly alludes, the vessels spoiled from the temple were equally applied to profane purposes, and the sanctuary, on which the cloud of divine glory had rested, was polluted with the unhallowed incense and nidor of heathen sacrifice.

* Dan. v. 23, 28, 30, 31.

After the desecration of the house of the Most High, the death of the tyrant was indeed deferred for two years; but the vengeance of God overtook him, at the no less remarkable conjuncture of its purification; and under the peculiar circumstances which had been revealed to the prophet.

As a farther character whereby the crisis marked out in the prediction might be known; the angel who undertook its exposition to the prophet declared, that in it, the iniquity of the Jews would have reached its summit. At no period of their history, did the nation exhibit greater depravity than that to which they now seemed to be utterly abandoned. With the exception of the single family of the Maccabees, and the small band of their adherents, through whose exertions the spirit of the people was revived, and their zeal rekindled, the entire nation had become depraved and apostate. The pontificate which was publicly offered for sale became the prey of the rapacious and intriguing; who completed the purchase by the sacrilegious spoil of the temple. After the abandoned and seductive example of the higher order of the ministry, the inferior priests deserted the altar and neglected the sacrifice, until the public worship became despised, and the temple was at length deserted. The Jewish customs having been gradually superseded by the Grecian; a gymnasium

was at length opened at Jerusalem, which in violation alike of hereditary feeling and contempt of the divine law, was promiscuously frequented by the youths of both nations. Until in fine, one of the pontifical rank, who by a complication of fraud, falsehood and venality, had supplanted all the competitors for that office, which was the highest in the state, in order to conciliate the court favour more effectually, declared that he would abjure the national faith, and openly embrace the Greek superstition.

As the brave and patriotic band, who, under the Maccabees formed a splendid exception to the general apostacy, required animation and support, in the unequal contest in which they had engaged; the assurance given by the angel in the prediction must have inspired them with the consolation and hope, which it brought to the prophet:—"and he said, Behold I will make thee know what shall be the last end of the indignation; for at the time appointed the end shall be." * To all, who were not so far infected by the general contagion as to have abjured their paternal religion; who had not so far imbibed the infection, as to have lost all confidence in the inspired oracles; it must have ministered the balm of support and consolation, to be thus assured, that the calamity though heavy would not be lasting.

* Dan. viii. 19.

When indeed we estimate the resources of the military people, who prosecuted a war of extermination against the few zealots, who stood forth in defence of the law; it cannot be doubted that in the assurance conveyed in the prophecy, they felt themselves girt and armed for the contest; deriving from it that confidence of the result, which, in stimulating their exertions and sustaining their courage, insured their ultimate triumph.

II. To us, who, at a distance thus remote, regard the prediction as accomplished in the event, a different part is assigned, and a different lesson inculcated. Regarding the subject of the text, as a part of the general plan of prophecy, which was delivered for the conviction and establishment of our faith; it remains for us to verify the accuracy of the prediction by its correspondence with the event. In entering on the task of submitting it, as rendered in the text, to a critical scrutiny; two circumstances are particularly deserving of remark, as affecting its proper force and immediate application.

In the first place, the prophecy, of which the text is an extract, was not only written in Hebrew; but, of those that constitute the book of Daniel, it is the first that is composed in that language: those that precede it having been composed in the Chaldee, which, from the time of the captivity, was common to the Jews and their Babylonian conquerors. It may be therefore in-

ferred, that it was directly, if not exclusively, addressed by the prophet to his compatriots, who were alone acquainted with the language in which it was published; and that it must be consequently understood of an event in which they were primarily, if not exclusively concerned. In the next place, it is observable, that the term, which is rendered "days" in the text, has a different force in the original, as literally meaning "mornings and evenings." This distinction is important on a double account: as in every instance in the inspired writings, where the prophetical rule applies, wherein years are expressed by days, the simple term "day," is uniformly used instead of the compound or explanatory "mornings and evenings." From this distinction the consequence follows, that the number 2300, which gives the prophecy its character as chronological, cannot be meant literally of entire days, nor figuratively of proper years; but must be understood, in the strict letter of the phrase, of "mornings and evenings," separately reckoned. When computed by natural days, it must be consequently reduced one-half; 1150 days containing "2300 mornings and evenings."

Our vernacular version of the text, which I followed in reciting it, is therefore singularly unfortunate in its deviation from the original. To restore it to its full force, it should be rendered as follows; "Then I heard one holy one speaking,

and another holy one said unto that certain one that spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the perpetual sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give the sanctuary and the host to be trodden down? And he said to me, Unto two thousand three hundred mornings and evenings; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."* This version derives confirmation from the context; the ellipses which it contains are at once supplied and justified from the account of the institution of the burnt-offerings by Moses.† As the *daily* service consisted alike of the *evening* and the *morning* sacrifice, the distinction founded on the latter phrase cannot be deemed superfluous or useless; particularly, as it appears, from the history of the times to which the prediction applies, that the offices of the temple, through the remissness of the priests, were occasionally neglected, in the morning or evening.

Its proper force being thus restored to the prediction, the accuracy with which it was accomplished admits of an easy proof; as the date, not only of the year, but the day, on which "the sanctuary was cleansed," is preserved in the accounts which have been transmitted of its profanation and purification. "Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and

* Dan. viii. 13, 14. † Num. xxviii. 1. seq.

eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt-offerings which they had made. Look, at what time and what day, the heathen had profaned it, even on that was it dedicated with songs, and citheras, and harps, and symbols." *

1. The date here expressed, according to the Jewish calendar, in years of the era of the Seleucidæ, by the certain principles of chronological science, is easily identified with December 12th of the year B. C. 165. If from this epoch, assumed as a basis, "2300 evenings and mornings," or 1150 natural days, be computed in ascent; we shall arrive at October 17th of the year 168 of the same era; corresponding with the 23rd of the month Tisri, which is marked in the Jewish calendar, as the anniversary of "the rejoicing of the law." This festival, from which the commencement of the persecution must be dated, if the preceding view of it be correct, was held in continuation of the feast of tabernacles; which was celebrated for eight days, in commemoration of the dwelling of the Israelites in booths, during their wandering in the desert.† From the time of the dedication of the temple of Solomon, it appears to have been observed with unusual rejoicing.‡ Upon it, the copies of the Law were

* 1 Maccab. iv. 51—54. † Lev. xxiii. 34. ‡ 2 Chron. vii. 10.

borne in solemn procession, and the order of the lessons,—as appointed to be read on the Sabbath, throughout the year,—terminated and recommenced. These customs, it would appear, had been observed from the times of Nehemiah,* on the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.

The testimony of history,—though express as to the year, wherein the desolation, to which the text refers, occurred, in fixing it to the 148th year of the era of the Seleucidæ,—supplies but circumstantial evidence, as to the *day* on which it commenced; the determination of which is necessary to the illustration and proof of the prediction. Were it wholly silent, however, on the subject, no inconclusive proof of its identity with the festival of "the rejoicing of the Law,"—at which we have arrived in the preceding computation,—would be deducible from the object with which a persecution was undertaken, that threatened the Jewish religion and nation with utter extinction. When we consider the purport of the royal mandate which authorised a massacre, that reduced Jerusalem to desolation and depopulated Judea; that it decreed the destruction of *the copies of the Law*, and the substitution of the Pagan feasts and superstitions, for the Jewish festivals and worship: it is impossible to conceive that any time could

* Nehem. viii. 16—18.

be chosen which could be better calculated to bring the passions of the hostile parties into fierce and lasting collision. Had a pretext been sought by the authors of the work of devastation, for kindling the flame which burst forth; none was better qualified to rouse the lurking fire, or supply it with fuel. None could have been found, that was better calculated to provoke aggression on the one side, or inflame recrimination on the other; than that which presented itself upon the festival from which,—if the computation I have hazarded be admitted,—the commencement of the persecution must be dated; and which, if allowed to be just, proves it to have been precisely accomplished.

2. Much more, however, than merely presumptive proof is implied in the nature of the festival of the encænia, which was instituted in commemoration of "the cleansing of the sanctuary," that the period of desolation commenced at the time of the year, when the feast of tabernacles was celebrated. In the institution of that anniversary, which was intended to preserve the memory of that purification, the ancient festival which was held for eight days in the first month, was expressly copied. In the account transmitted to us of the manner of its institution, the opposition is, besides, so strongly marked between the times of the profanation, and the purification, of the sanctuary, as to justify the inference, that,

in the festival intended to commemorate the close of the persecution, that at which it commenced was held in remembrance. "Now upon *the same day* that the strangers profaned the temple, on *the very same day* it was cleansed again.... And they kept *eight days* with rejoicing, *after the manner of the feast of tabernacles*, remembering that not long before, *on the feast of tabernacles*, they were desolate in the mountains and dens, like beasts... They ordained also by a common statute and decree, that every year *those days* should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews." *

To whatever part of the picture of aggravated horrors we turn our eyes, which marked the period of little more than three years, during which the fiery ordeal was sustained; the melancholy evidence, of the time chosen for commencing the work of desolation, meets our observation: In the object to which, as we are assured, it was directed, and in the manner in which it was carried into effect, the time chosen, as most fit for setting the brand to the pile, is alike apparent. "Moreover Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and every one should leave his laws....The king had sent letters to Jerusalem, and the cities of Juda, that they should follow the rules and laws of the

* 2 Maccab. x. 5, 6, 8.

strangers of the land,...and that they should *profane* the sabbaths and *festival days*....to the end that they might forget the law, and *change* all the *ordinances*." * The painful narrative, of the manner in which this ruthless purpose was carried into effect, preserves but a single instance of such an interchange of the national and alien ordinances; and it seems of itself sufficient to identify the festival, from which the prediction should be computed. The native Jewish historian, who recounts it, had already observed, " neither was it lawful for a man to keep sabbath *or ancient festivals*, or to profess himself a Jew;"* in illustration of the observation, he cites a particular instance of the method, in which the profane substitution of the Pagan for the Jewish rites was effected. " And when *the feast of Bacchus* was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy."†

The pagans have ever manifested a perverse inclination to confound the worshippers of Jehovah Sabaoth with the votaries of Iacchus Sebazios; justifying the absurd and profane comparison, on the imaginary resemblance, which they traced between the time and ceremonies of the feast of tabernacles and of the Dionysia in the fields. In the year in which the Jewish persecu-

* 2 Maccab. vi. 6. † Ibid. vi. 7.

tion commenced, and the sanctuary was profaned with the statue of Jupiter; the Bacchanalian festival occurred on the 27th of October; as we learn from the order of days in the Greek calendar, to which the inhabitants of Judea were required to conform. As it appears, the feast of tabernacles, from what has been observed ended this year, October 17th; the Jewish and Pagan festival consequently happened, in that year, not merely in the same month; but with the short interval of ten days intervening.

3. It has already appeared, from the account of the institution of *the encænia*, that "they ordained, *those days* should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews," in remembrance, "that not long before, *on the feast of tabernacles*, they were desolate in the mountains and caverns." The testimony of the sacred historian is not less express, that the more zealously affected were thus driven from the haunts of men, by the fear of persecution; while the apostates, who remained in the cities, "followed the laws of the strangers and profaned the festival days."* To adopt the language of the same sacred writer, who describes the events of this period; "many of the people were gathered unto them; to wit, every one that forsook the Law; and so they committed evils in the land, and drove the

* 1 Maccab. i. 44, 45.

Israelites into secret places, even wherever they could flee for succour." *

It may be, therefore, collected from a review of the event, in all its circumstances, that about the time when the feast of tabernacles was kept, which occurred, in the year B. C. 168, between October 9th and 16th inclusive; the decree for uniformity in religion was issued, by the tyrant, Antiochus. But in consequence of the flight of the Jews to " the mountains and caverns," from the fiery trial, to which they would be exposed in refusing to desecrate the feast, it was not carried into immediate execution. It is no less obvious, that after ten days from the close of that festival the persecution had commenced; the feast of the Dionysia having occurred in that year, October 27th, at which the people were compelled to go in procession, under the threat and terror of extermination. In the intermediate period, after the close of the Jewish festival, the anniversary of " the rejoicing of the Law" was celebrated on October 17th, through the whole land. Beyond that day, it is inconceivable that the execution of the royal mandate could have been deferred: as the instructions for enforcing it were peremptory and explicit. " Wheresoever was found with any the book of the Testament, or if any consented

* 1 Maccab. i. 52.

to the Law, the king's commandment was, they should put him to death." * As the object for which that festival was instituted was, to celebrate the delivery of the law, and to meet for the purpose of hearing it recited; to men who were armed with such authority, and disposed to carry it into execution, the assembling for so obnoxious a purpose must have been a signal *for commencing* a general massacre.

The evidence, therefore, though it be deemed rather circumstantial than express, appears to be fully conclusive, that upon the festival of "the rejoicing of the Law," which fell upon the day succeeding the feast of tabernacles, "the desolation," foretold by the prophet properly commenced. As the submission of the Jews was only to be proved in the public exercise of their religion; that festival was peculiarly qualified, for making experiment of their disposition to yield to the royal authority. It was not confined in its celebration merely to the walls of Jerusalem, but was observed throughout the land; through the whole of which, it was decreed, the pagan superstition should be adopted. And from a supposed affinity between it and the pagan festival of the Dionysia, it furnished the best opportunity, for proving the disposition of the Jews to conform to the religion of the state, and to

* 1 Maccab. i. 57.

bring over those who were already disposed to embrace it, in abandoning the national religion.

The point being regarded as decided respecting the date of this festival, as identified with October 17th, B. C. 168; from whence the commencement of the persecution must be computed; no difficulty remains as to those which succeeded. It is recorded matter of fact, that on the day answering to December 6th of the Julian year, "they set up the abomination of desolation, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda, on every side;"* that ten days later, they "polluted the temple in Jerusalem and dedicated it to Jupiter Olympus;"† and that in three years from this time, on Casleu 25th, coinciding with December 12th, B. C. 165, a new altar was erected and sacrifices offered in the temple as prescribed by the law,‡ or, as it is expressed by the prophet, "the sanctuary was cleansed."§ Between the first and last of these dates, it has been already shown, that the number of "mornings and evenings," or of sacrifices appointed to be offered at each time of the day, amounted precisely to 2300; and consequently, admitting the deduction of the prophecy from the festival of "the rejoicing of the Law," that

* 1 Maccab. i. 54.

† Ibid. i. 59, iv. 52, 53. 2 Maccab. vi. 2, 5.

‡ 1 Maccab. iv. 52, 53. 2 Maccab. x. 3, 4.

§ Dan. viii. 14.

the prediction was fulfilled in the letter, and to the very day.

III. When we consider the great revolution which was produced, in accomplishing what was so exactly foreshown; and compare the magnitude of the end which was effected, with the natural incompetency of the means which were employed; it becomes matter of interest, rather than curiosity, to inquire how far the prophecy might have been followed at the time; and have thus become instrumental in reducing the predicted to the real. It was, however, providentially contrived, that the Jews, in undertaking the purification of the sanctuary on the anniversary of its pollution, should be unintentionally instrumental in fulfilling the predicted period of the desolation, which *anticipated* that event by nearly two months. It is thus not improbable, that even upon them the prophecy was unattended with any decided effect, and was thus unintentionally accomplished.

In the recovery of their freedom under the Maccabees, and the remarkable conjuncture at which it was effected; there is that evidence of the direct interposition of God, which is sufficient to confound the impugners of a superintending providence, by which the affairs of this lower world are directed. It affords sensible proof of his engagement in support of the Law, which he promulgated with a pledge, that its

foundation should be as immoveable as "the rock of ages." To the assurance thus given, certain conditions were annexed; the violation of which, by the party who engaged in the compact, freed the supreme stipulating Power, from all obligation, to which he had bound himself. The sustaining providence of the Omnipotent having been thus withdrawn; the nation thenceforth resigned to its natural resources, or depending upon alien support, became the victims of the oppression, and a prey to the rapacity, of those to whom they looked for protection. When thus abandoned by providence, they were given up to a persecution, which not only threatened the extinction of Judaism, but the establishment of Paganism in the land of their fathers. But the estrangement of their natural Protector did not outlast their apostacy. When their zeal for his service revived, his providential care was renewed. And from this time, their resistance to the persecution, which menaced them with extermination, was attended with success. The struggle having commenced from the profanation of the temple, ended with its purification; and was at length consummated in the recovery of their independence, and the re-establishment of their religion. And this remarkable crisis was no less distinguished, by their restoration to liberty, than by the transfer of the supremacy, from the third to the fourth of the

prophetical empires. The scepticism must be invincible, which does not recognise, in these reverses, the divine operation, maturing the great purposes which were in the course of fulfilment; as revealed through the prophets. The coincidence of events, having no necessary connexion, at so remarkable a conjuncture, and according to a prediction so expressly declared, can be only resolved into that divine superintendance, the purposes of which were foreshown, and accomplished as they were predicted.

Of the extraordinary providence by which these times were distinguished, the history of the events to which they gave birth, abounds with examples. But the most striking instance which they present, is deducible from the last successful effort of the Maccabees, and the fatal reverse with which it was followed. While they depended on their individual exertions, referring the issue of the contest to the Lord of Hosts; so long they were invincible. But when, with a distrust in his succour, they applied for aid to the Romans, who held the destiny of the eastern world in their hands; from that time, their decline was as remarkable, as their previous success was miraculous. In the expedition dispatched against them, by the successor of Antiochus; to repair the loss sustained in the destruction of an army, which had fallen before their arms; their leader found himself deserted

by his troops. At the head of a small and resolute band, he accordingly hazarded the fate of a battle; but having fallen in the attempt, with him the independence of the nation expired, which he had so nobly asserted. From this time, the freedom of the Jews was guaranteed by a league into which they entered with the Romans, who had succeeded to the supremacy of the East, on the subversion of the Macedonian dominion; and who threatened their inveterate enemy with their vengeance, should he molest those whom they had admitted into the number of their allies. After this degrading alliance, they depended, for their security, on the contests, which arose, for the throne, among the successors of Antiochus; or on the jealousy, which arrayed the rival dynasties of Syria and Egypt, against each other.

The prophet had indeed given, in a later and more circumstantial prediction, an insight into the event of this period of unexampled trial and affliction to his country; from which not only consolation but security might be derived, by those who had so far a faith in his inspiration, as to bring his predictions to the test of the event. But we cannot be unconscious of the effect with which his claims would be attended, were the trial of his spirit to be made in the present sceptical age: and there is reason to conclude, from the temper of the times to which his revelations

were addressed, from its distrust in the providence and defection from the law of God, that if deemed at all worthy of consideration, they were rejected as baseless and illusory visions. Of the character of their inspired author, the great and good man, who was the first mover of resistance to the merciless decree which marked out an entire nation for extermination, was not insensible; among the examples by which he sought to kindle the zeal and animate the courage of his sons and successors, a principal place is accordingly assigned by him to Daniel.* But as he lived to behold none of those successes against the tyrant, by whom they had been proscribed, in which the predictions of the prophet were verified; he could form no conception of the manner in which they were accomplished. The times which succeeded his death were so wholly given up to enterprise, and involved in danger, as to allow no leisure for examination or study: while in identifying the event, as accomplished, in the truth, as foretold, there was need of comparison and deduction, to be convinced of the resemblance between them. No encouragement was given, by the prophet, to the curious or speculative, in anticipating his meaning, by unfolding the scroll and decyphering its characters; but the event was declared by him to be in-

* 1 Maccab. ii. 60.

volved in obscurity, that time only could clear away. It is therefore probable, that few, even of the more serious and devoutly disposed among his readers, would submit to the patient investigation, which was necessary to its discovery; as is unfortunately experienced, since the volume has been unclasped, and the seal set upon it has been broken.

In estimating the privileges which we inherit in the possession and the perusal of those oracles, which, though unclasped to us, were closed to them; it seems not easy to conceive how some of the advantages, which accrue to us from the period at which we live, can be regarded with indifference or lightness. While in trying prophecy by the rule of history, we trace the resemblance between the truth as predicted, and recorded as it occurred; as that foundation proves its firmness and solidity which resists the shock of time, we see the evidence increase, by which alone, in an age that is vouchsafed no special and sensible interposition, our faith can be strengthened and confirmed. On regarding the course of events, in the short period of the Jewish annals which has been reviewed, in a historical rather than a prophetical light; as exhibiting the triumphs of a few brave and zealous persons against lawless and tyrannical power, in the defence of the most sacred inheritance which can be transmitted to man, and in a contest the

most unequal and unpromising of a successful issue: they inculcate a lesson which is not less edifying than instructive. As they tend to convince us, that the special providence of an Omnipotent Ruler extends to the affairs of this lower world; and that where his countenance and assistance are rightly sought, good will ultimately prevail, and evil meet its retribution.

Let us then, following the example and admonition of him, who under providence was instrumental in "recovering the law out of the land of the Gentiles,...consider, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome."*

* 1 Maccab. ii. 48, 61.

# LECTURE VI.

## DANIEL VII. 15—18.

"I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me. I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things. These great beasts which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever."

IN tracing to their moral causes, the great revolutions which have attended the transfer of empire to the principal nations of the earth; the history of our race exhibits difficulties, in the means by which power has been attained and exercised, of which the first principles of ethical and political science furnish no direct solution. We easily deduce, from the abuse of that freedom which is necessary to a state of probation, the enormities which furnish evidence of a future state of retribution; to which we must look, for the removal of the main difficulties that embarrass our inquiry into those causes. But the existence and prevalence of evil, of which the pages of the

historian contain little more than the recital, are not so easily reconciled with the attributes of the moral Ruler of the world; whose works, as viewed in the book of nature, proclaim his power and goodness to be infinite. The task would be indeed impracticable, were not the dimness of our natural faculties assisted by the divine illumination. Before the light that it affords, the uncertainty, in which we are benighted, gradually disperses. In the assurance which it gives us, not merely that what is now resigned to lawless power, will be one day requited with a just retribution; but that this world, which is the scene of disorder and wickedness, will be rendered not less worthy the superintending providence of its Divine Governor, than its natural frame appears indicative of the power and goodness of its Creator. For, "the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever."

The evidence vouchsafed to us that this gracious purpose,—of which prophecy gives the promise and forms the preparation,—is consigned to various predictions, that shadow the truth under imagery, of which the text supplies the key. In the revelation which they make of the great political revolutions that would convulse the earth; and in which the brute force, by which tyrannical power was extended and sustained, is forcibly depicted, under the figure of "those

great beasts which are four:" they furnish adequate proof of the final completion of the divine purpose, to which they are represented as forming the preparation. We have the conviction, arising from the observation of fact, that as far as the great system of which they form a part has admitted of development from time, it has been exactly fulfilled. In the experience of what is past, we have an earnest of the final accomplishment of what is predicted as future. As the prescience by which the result of remote and contingent events is determined, can proceed only by inspiration from Him, who can neither be deceived nor conspire in deceiving others: in his attributes of infallibility and truth, the sure anchorage is found for our faith, that what yet remains unaccomplished will as certainly follow, as what has preceded.

Of the persons who were chosen to reveal the method of God's providence, in compassing those ends, one of the most remarkable was the prophet Daniel. From the notices of his life, which are scattered through his writings, we readily collect, that he was fitted, above all persons of his order, for the high charge to which he was deputed. It appears, from what he has declared of himself, that he was brought at an early age among the Jewish captives of rank, who were carried to Babylon. Having been received into the royal household, he was committed to the

care of one of the domestics, who were intrusted with the instruction of youth,—"to be taught the learning and tongue of the Chaldeans."* He here recommended himself to the royal notice and favour, until at length, by an act of caprice, not unusual among the monarchs of the east, who frequently fill the principal offices of the state from the humblest walks in life, he was raised to the highest dignity in the empire. While the revelations, which God has vouchsafed to mankind, principally concerned the destination of the Jews; the communication of his purposes was committed to seers of their nation; as the admonitions of such were best qualified to awaken the sympathies, and command the attention of their hearers. But from the time of the captivity, when Daniel was called to discharge the prophetical office, the purpose of God, to admit the Gentiles to a participation in the promises made to the Jews, became more apparent. As he delivered his prophecies at such a conjuncture, when his countrymen owed submission to an alien prince; it was wisely and providentially ordered, that he should attain that elevation, which, while it gave intensity to the light which he diffused, extended the sphere of its influence. The extraordinary sensation in favour of the Jews, on the fall of the Babylonian and

* Dan. i. 4.

rise of the Persian empire, which led to the restoration by Cyrus, is with great probability supposed to have proceeded from his intercession and influence: whereby one great end of his sudden and extraordinary elevation was effected.

The range taken in his predictions was, consequently, ample. To the most superficial examiner, it must be obvious, that they not only embrace the destiny of the Jews, but extend to the final consummation of all things. On the dignity of the Messiah's character, and the nature and duration of his kingdom, he is not only explicit; but determines the precise time of the commencement and close of his ministry. In thus dissipating the cloud which intercepted the distant and unfolding prospect, he exhibits Christianity, as opposed, persecuted, and depressed, and as fully and triumphantly established. As preliminary to the interpretation of such of his prophecies as are strictly chronological, they may be accordingly reduced under three heads; as they describe the great political revolutions which would precede the advent of the Messiah; as they point out the change which would be effected, in the transfer of dominion to his followers; and as they declare the anti-christian conspiracy, by which the perversion of his religion would be effected, and its utter subversion attempted. Of the different parts of this distribution, the first may be regarded as merely

introductory to the two last; without a knowledge of which, they would have hardly admitted of verification, in the events as predicted.

I. In entering on the explanation of the subject thus distributed; the first division,—which describes the fate of the four prophetical monarchies, that passed in succession to the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians and Romans,—need not long detain our attention, as it is merely introductory to the subsequent. The prophet himself has supplied a key to the imagery under which they are shadowed; in declaring, in the text, that "these great beasts which are four are four kings which shall arise out of the earth."*

The images, under which the rise and fall of the four Pagan monarchies, which were destined to precede the establishment of the Christian ascendancy, have been so fully and frequently explained, by the expounders of prophecy; that the repetition of their observations, which have nearly exhausted the subject, must be in the present instance superfluous, were it necessary to my immediate object. They have proved, in a manner the most clear and satisfactory, that the national character of the people, by whom the sovereignty was attained in succession, and the methods by which they extended and maintained their dominion, are marked with strength

* Dan. vii. 17.

and precision, in the delineations of the prophet. In the single figure under which each empire is shadowed, the violence or rapidity, the force or subtlety, by which it acquired dominion, are depicted with equal force and fidelity. The ferocity with which the first Asiatic sovereignty extended the wings of empire over Assyria and Chaldea; the fierceness and treachery with which its successor drew within the jaws of its power the Chaldean, Median and Persian; are by such images not merely presented to the mind, but made palpable to the senses. In the same species of hieroglyphical painting, we behold in detail the resistless force and rapidity, with which the Macedonian arms bore down every opposition, in extending those conquests, which were subsequently parted into four kingdoms; the stern valor, and overwhelming might with which the Romans, in pushing forward their successes, trampled under foot every obstacle to victory; in fine, the dispersion of their vast empire into ten petty sovereignties, over which a small and feeble state would usurp a supremacy, not by the terror of its achievements, but the thunders of its denunciations.

In taking this rapid survey of the progress of political revolution, as traced by the prophet; our attention is, however, arrested by one or two considerations, which merit remark, not merely as having escaped antecedent notice, but as com-

mending themselves to attention by their intrinsic importance. While he points out the political changes, which would precede the great religious revolution that would be effected in the earth; he limits to *four* the number of the great empires, by which the supremacy would be engrossed previous to its transfer to the professors of the true religion. If we consider the constitution of the empires, which shared in succession the sovereign authority; no causes are discoverable, in their government or polity, that necessarily led to the result, which followed in accordance with the prediction.

The Parthians maintained a lasting and doubtful contest for the supremacy with the Romans, when in the height of their power. At the crisis of its decline, when its expiring struggles were employed in the extirpation of the new religion, which every where superseded the national superstition; no causes, moral or political, seemed to preclude the rise of a fifth monarchy on the ruins of the last of the four prophetical empires, or its reconstruction, from the remains of it, when dismantled. And if a triumph were finally obtained over the last and greatest, nothing seemed less likely to occur, in the ordinary course of human events, than that it should be achieved by those to whom it was explicitly promised. In the unequal contest in which the Christian and Pagan were involved, where the spirit of peace

and persecution were arrayed against each other, and where feebleness had to contend against strength; when the opposition was as that with which the transient cloud resists the gathering tempest; the calculation of the result must have necessarily decided in favour of the stronger and more violent party. To the contrary conclusion, as revealed to the prophet, the observation of the present, no less than the experience of the past brings ample confirmation. In the centuries which have succeeded the delivery of the prediction; among the monstrous births which the womb of time has brought forth in our own age, no fifth monarchy has arisen to invalidate its truth, by establishing a claim to universal dominion. And the possibility of its rise seems to be precluded by the propagation of that religion, whose distinctive characters are purity and peace, the triumphs of which, he had proclaimed, would be as signal as lasting. With the advantages moral and civil, which the diffusion of Christianity has tended to confer upon our race; that intellectual superiority and enlightened policy have grown up, by which the ascendancy of the nations is secured, who have the guardianship of the sacred inheritance. Of the power which has thus gathered strength, with the lapse of those centuries, the elements are so equally balanced, and the forces so widely dispersed, that no apprehension can be felt for its permanence, from inward opera-

tion or external violence. The prospect of its being wrested from its present possessors, by hostile and infidel hands, appears to be no less repugnant to the operation of moral or political causes, than the production of physical effects, in opposition to the laws of nature.

Nor can it be deemed less deserving of remark, that as a limit was thus set to those empires, which their power should not survive; the transfer of dominion, from one to the other, was effected in such a manner as to prove, that it was compassed through the divine intervention. A great purpose having, from the first, been pursued in the divine dispensations; in accomplishing which, the Jews were especial instruments in the hands of the Sovereign Disposer; the fall of one nation and the rise of another is observed to have occurred, as they possessed more effectually the means, and manifested the disposition, to promote that object. I formerly had occasion to remark on the circumstances which attended the first interruption in the succession; when the rod of empire passed from the Chaldeans to the Persians. By the one people the temple was spoiled and burned; by the other it was rebuilt and had the sacred vessels restored to it: the closing events in the reign of the last Chaldean monarch are not more remarkable for the desecration of those vessels, than the earliest acts of the first Persian sovereign by their restitution to the sanctuary.

II. The revelation of the civil revolutions, which would take place upon the earth, is however described by the prophet, as but introductory to the religious, with which they would be succeeded. The inward throes with which the frame of society was convulsed had not abated their force, though they had changed their direction. The political contest for the supremacy of the earth, he proceeds to describe, would yield to a moral struggle no less violent and protracted. To the four monarchies, which are generally known as the prophetical, and the last of which is noticed in the text, a fifth, of a totally different constitution and character, was destined to succeed; the establishment of which, though deferred for a time, which he proceeds to define, would be as permanent as triumphant; when "the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever."*

On the identity of this fifth monarchy, upon the establishment of which, all independent claims to universal empire should cease upon earth, the prophet expresses himself with that precision, which places his meaning beyond ambiguity. He describes its extent and permanence with that minuteness of delineation and splendor of imagery, which nothing surpasses, or indeed equals, in prophetical description. Of so solemn and awful a character were the objects, which pre-

* Dan. vii. 18.

sented themselves to him in his vision, that he represents them as overwhelming him with consternation and terror.

"I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame..... I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."*

Of the personage intended in this description, and the religion to which an extent and duration thus boundless are promised, there is no room for

* Dan. vii. 9, 10, 11, 13.

forming a second opinion. Even by the Jewish commentators, among whom Daniel has considerably sunk in his reputation, it has been ever acknowledged, that, in this passage, the Messiah, by whom they expect their nation will be redeemed, and their religion universally propagated, is obviously intended. The prophet in pointing out the course, in which the divine purposes would be carried into effect, represents it, as exhibiting a protracted contest for the supremacy, between the authority of Christ and the usurpation of Antichrist. The latter is described by him, as destined to prevail for a specific time, before the former should be fully established. On the subject of this defection, the prediction from which the text is taken, is peculiarly full and explicit. Its inspired author describes himself, as influenced with a higher share of interest and curiosity to be informed of the nature and duration of this profane usurpation. He accordingly sought information respecting it, from one of the divine beings, who presented themselves to him in his vision. "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others.....Thus he said, the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings

that shall arise: and another shall rise after them: and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hands *until a time and times and the dividing of time.*" *

The historical events shadowed in this description which portrays the usurpation of Papal Rome, on the decline of Imperial Rome, have been so frequently and accurately traced, that it must be useless, at the present moment, to enter into the parallel. The antichristian character of that spiritual tyranny, by which the supremacy of "the Son of Man" is invaded; its persecuting spirit, "in wearing out the saints of the most High;" its superstitious innovations, "in changing times," by the institution of saints' days and holidays; its profane dispensation with the divine laws, by absolution and indulgences; sufficiently identify the features of the apostate church, in the repulsive portrait sketched by the prophet's hand, without the formality of a comparison. It comes more immediately within my province to examine the concluding words, in which the limit is set to this profane and tyrannous domination, and the time of its commence-

* Dan. vii. 19, 23—25.

ment indirectly determined. Its origin is there dated from the fall of the "ten kingdoms," prefigured under "ten horns," into which the fourth of the prophetical monarchies would be partitioned; and into so many petty sovereignties we certainly know the Roman Empire was divided, after the irruption of the northern hordes by whom it was dismembered. The epoch of the period, as deduced from this event, is determined, during which, this usurpation shall last; and as we are assured, "the saints of the most High shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of a time." *

Without any ulterior view to the various prophecies, in which the period thus determined is more fully explained, on which a more convenient opportunity will arise to dilate hereafter; it may be observed, at present, that the term thus prescribed to the great antichristian apostacy, extends to 1260 years, at which it is uniformly computed. According to the general acceptation of the Hebrew, "a time" signifies a year; and as the term "times" is used by the prophet in the dual number, the original phrase, "a time, times, and the dividing of a time," is equivalent to three years and a half. As in this period, there are by computation 1260 days; according to the usual canon of prophetical interpretation, which

* Dan. vii. 25.

understands years by days, such must be the number of years prescribed to this profane usurpation. In this view of the original phrase, all commentators, as well among the ancients as the moderns, among the Jews as the Christians, generally coincide; however widely they may differ in the application of the prediction.

For the further elucidation of the subject, we may however apply to the prophet, who furnishes the best comment upon his own text. Of the different prophecies delivered by him in the reigns of Belshazzar and Cyrus; the last, he expressly offers, as explanatory of the preceding; in which the shifting scene, whereof the course of mundane affairs supplies the drama, is brought to its catastrophe, in the great consummation. In carrying this object into effect, he accordingly recurs to the subject of the period of 1260 years, which engages our attention; and couples it with two others of 1290 and 1335 years, from which it receives illustration. "And I heard the man clothed in linen, ... when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for *a time, times and a half;* and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people *all these things shall be finished.* And I heard but I understood not; then said I, O my Lord, *what shall be the end of these things?* And he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words

are closed up and sealed to *the time of the end....* None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand. And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the *thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.* But go thou thy way *till the end be:* for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot *at the end of the days.*" *

The period of 1260 years, as previously explained, and of 1290 years as here expressed; (for it must be superfluous to repeat, that by days we must continue to understand years;) it is obvious from the context, have their close at the opening of that blissful period, when the kingdom of God, shall be established "upon earth as it is in heaven." In reviewing the preceding extract, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the manner, in which the prophet constantly directs our attention, to the close of the time predicted. He seems to prompt us to that retrogressive mode of computing, which, from the comparative certainty with which the end of a given period may be determined, renders the discovery of its commencement easy in the attainment. And were we at liberty to follow an opinion, generally

* Dan. xii. 7—13.

received in the ancient Jewish and Christian Church; on the assumption of its truth, the computation of the period before us might be at once effected. Those times of righteousness and peace, which constitute the end of the prediction, as well as of all prophetic revelation, it has been generally conceived, will open with the seventh millenium from the creation. It would be an unseasonable anticipation of a subject, which a future occasion will afford a fitter place to discuss, were I to enter into an explanation, or state the grounds of these opinions. By no computer, however he may regard them with suspicion or distrust, can it be reasonably objected, that they should be employed, in the present stage of this investigation, on the principle of the rule of false position. Proceeding upon this principle, without any immediate regard to the authority by which those opinions are supported; if we assume the six thousandth year from the creation, as a basis, and compute from it the prophetical periods of 1290 and 1260 years in ascent; the result brings us to the year 706, of the vulgar era, for the commencement of the one, and to the year 736 of the same era, for that of the other.

Whatever be the estimate which is formed of the results thus obtained, thus much is at least indisputable respecting them, that on the assumption upon which I have proceeded,—that the antichristian defection, foretold by the prophet,

is to be sought in the Papal usurpation;—in the wide range of history, no time can be pointed out in which we can so clearly trace the accomplishment of his predictions. The period included between the years 706 and 736 was not less remarkable for the iconoclast controversy and persecution; than for that coalition between the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the West, which commenced in the recognition of their mutual usurpation of the rights of the emperor of the East, and ended in the establishment of their mutual supremacy over Europe. About the earlier date, the Roman Pontiff became a temporal sovereign by the spoliation of the Exarchate, which was wrested from the Greeks; and at the later, the last of the ten petty kingdoms, into which the Roman Empire was parted, on its fall, submitted to that dynasty, which added three of them to the Papal territories. But, what more particularly merits remark, is the revolution in the state of religious opinion, by which that interval was distinguished. From that time, the commencement of that long and dreary night, in which the western world was involved, must be dated; which brought with it the vain terrors and gloomy superstitions, that enslaved the human mind, until the dawning glory of the Reformation. A solemn deliberative sanction was given by the Western Church, convened under its ecclesiastical head, to the worship of saints and images, at the later

epoch. Idolatry having, by that sentence, become the established religion of Christendom, that prediction was fulfilled to the letter, which had declared, that the daily offering of spiritual worship should be taken away, and the sanctuary polluted with the abomination of idols.

With the term of 1260 years, of which the epoch was thus clearly fixed to the year 736, the prophet, as has been intimated, combines the period of 1335 years; with which it appears to be obviously connected. As this period cannot be *included* in the preceding since it exceeds it in extent; as it cannot *succeed* to it, since with its close "all things shall be finished," which the prophet reveals; we are reduced to the alternative of believing, it is destined to *precede* it. If therefore pursuing the retrogressive method of computing, we ascend from the year 736 of our era, assumed as a basis; at which time it has been shown, the antecedent term of 1260 years is intended to commence: on taking 1335 years in ascent, we arrive at the year B. C. 599. Of the extraordinary date, which is thus attained, by the mode of computation uniformly adopted in this discussion, little more need be now observed, than that it coincides with the year, from which the spoliation of the Temple, and the deportation to Babylon under Jehoiachin is dated. As it is not merely the epoch, from which the course of time was numbered by the Jews, during the cap-

tivity, and of course, when Daniel received the revelation; but that which was exclusively used by them at that time, unless when they reckoned in years of the reigning monarch; it seems not possible to conceive any epoch which could evince greater fitness in the selection.

The deportation of the Jews to Babylon having occurred in the year B. C. 599, and the defection of Antichrist being referred to A. D. 736; the exactness with which the period of 1335 years fits in the interval between those epochs, as will be directly apparent on adding them together,—contains a sufficient justification of the place which it is assigned in the preceding deduction. On regarding the great purpose, which the prophet appears, from the nature of his disclosures, to have had in view; the testimony of history cannot point out an interval, in the immense range of time to which his predictions extend, with which it maintains so close a connexion. To the term of 30 years, which is particularly distinguished, in the course of it, as interjected between the years of our Lord 706 and 736, the brief description given by the prophet so exactly accords, that it cannot be applied with equal fitness to another: as no time can be easily pointed out, which was better calculated to exercise the piety and perseverance of those, who were submitted to the ordeal of persecution. "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three

hundred and five and thirty days." Of the different terms, to which the close of this period is referred, and which is generally supposed to end with the *destruction* of Antichrist; little hesitation can be felt, in giving a preference to that advanced in the preceding discussion, in which it is identified with the time preceding his *manifestation*. This was a period, in which the piety and patience of the faithful would be exposed to the severest test; as the true character of the apostacy would be then undetected, and the power to resist it weakened, when it was enforced or aided by persecution. As soon as it appeared in its natural and repulsive hues; little apprehension could be felt, that proselytes would be found to join it, from among those who had resisted its seductions, or defied its terrors. The same objections apply with equal force to the supposition of those, who are disposed to seek the interpretation of the prediction, in any subsequent time, by which the antichristian defection will be succeeded. As the temptations to apostatise will necessarily decline, as that profane tyranny expires; the inducements to persevering holiness will increase, as the prospect of the reign of righteousness and peace becomes more near and certain. And as the prophet's words plainly allude to the patient endurance of the persecuted, until the end of the predicted term; it must be nugatory to look to any antecedent term for the verification of the prediction.

In corroboration of the method ascribed, in the preceding deduction, to the prophet, in his distribution of the different terms to which his predictions extend, it may be in conclusion alleged, that it is illustrated and confirmed by the practice of the Evangelist St. John, between whom and Daniel the most extraordinary similarity has been observed to exist. The resemblance extends, however, to a degree that has been little suspected; as it may be shown to apply not merely to the periods which they have respectively employed, but to the epochs from which they are apparently reckoned. The spoliation of the different temples, of which they witnessed the destruction, supplies the date, from whence such of their prophecies as are distinguished as chronological must be computed. The object to which they turned their views into futurity, and at which their predictions are brought to a close, is obviously the same; as circumscribed by that great consummation alone, when "all people, nations and languages shall serve him, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."*

Of the assumption hazarded at the commencement of this investigation, that the Chronological Prophecies form a connected series, revealing in their order the most important changes

* Dan. vii. 27; comp. Rev. xi. 15.

which mark the history of our race, the proof may be presumed to be so far effected. Independent of the disclosure which has been made to us, of the great political changes which have taken place upon earth; we see in those predictions, the chief incidents, in the system of God's providence, anticipated with a certainty, to which the unassisted faculties of man must have been wholly incompetent. The interval over which they extend, as measured by the computed terms of 1335 and 1260 years, which appear to be consecutive, forms the immense period of nearly twenty-six centuries. And it is observable of this vast interval, that, as dated from the captivity of his countrymen, it is deduced from the most remarkable epoch in the age of the prophet, and as marking the commencement of the antichristian usurpation, is distributed by the most important and prominent events, which have occurred since the times when he flourished.

Such in brief is the range to which the predictions of this highly favoured prophet extend. And had his revelations been limited even to them; they would furnish grounds sufficiently solid for our rational conviction, "that God spake in time past, unto the fathers, by the prophets."* As we derive so much instruction and consolation from their inspired author, let us imitate his

* Heb. i. 1.

humility and piety. While our hope is animated by the prospect which he gives us into the future; and our faith is strengthened by the experience of what has passed as he has foretold; let us, in his words, express our gratitude; and say as "Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wisdom and might are his: And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding: He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him."*

* Dan. ii. 20, 21, 22.

# LECTURE VII.

## DANIEL, IX. 24.

"Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy."

FROM the nature of the Deity as infinite in wisdom and power, it follows as a direct deduction, that all his operations whether ordinary or extraordinary should maintain the character of perfection, which is inseparable from a just conception of such a Being. In the notion of a wise selection of the end, and a just adaptation of the means to effect it; by both of which the quality of perfection is sustained; the consequence is equally implied, that the purposes of such a Being, will be carried into effect, by methods which no more exhibit a superfluity than a deficiency of power. By this criterion, which may be used to distinguish the true Religion, from such as are false; the distinction is forcibly

marked between the miracles and prophecy, by which Revelation is established, and the prodigies and prognostications, on which superstition or Paganism have founded their pretensions.

The analogy which is acknowledged to subsist, in the application of this principle, between Revealed and Natural Religion, is not merely observed to extend to Prophecy at large; but to that part especially which is distinguished as chronological. The succession of predictions, distinguished not merely by the anticipation of future events, but the determination of the precise time of their occurrence, give this evidence of the authority from whence they proceed, in professing to be derived from inspiration. The series of epochs which it determines are no less signalised for their plenitude than their adequacy; in leaving no important change unforetold, which took place in the divine dispensations, and in revealing no event, which as trivial or irrelevant may be thought undeserving of notice.

I. By no prediction in the entire series of chronological prophecy, is this character more signally sustained, than by that which engages our immediate attention. The great revolution in the divine dispensations which it reveals, surpasses in the magnitude of the event, and the importance of the consequences, by which it was succeeded, all that inspiration had dis-

closed of the divine determinations. It involved not only the subversion of the polity, and abolition of the religion of the Jews; but the establishment of a dispensation, in its stead, which was destined to be universal and everlasting: to which no bounds of space or time were assigned, but such as were prescribed by the extent and should survive the duration of the world. As from the importance and magnitude of the end, our justification is deduced, in supposing the divine interposition engaged, in making any event the subject of a specific revelation; no event in the entire succession of prophetical disclosures displays equal importance, none is imparted with the same circumstantial precision. In none do the qualities of fitness and propriety appear to have been more carefully studied, as well in the choice of a *person* by whom the revelation was to be made, as of the *time* at which it was delivered.

1. Of the prophet Daniel, "greatly beloved," to whom the disclosure of so vast a design, in the divine purposes, was committed, I formerly took occasion to speak, when entering on the subject of the revolutions in the East, which were preparatory to the great consummation, which he has so fully predicted. This inspired person, to whom the part was consigned, of disclosing the time fixed by the Omniscient, "for sealing up the vision and prophecy," had at the time of

his deputation to this office, attained the highest rank and authority in the Chaldean capital. His influence had acquired no small accession, from his interpretation of "the hand-writing on the wall," which portended the downfal of the last monarch of the Babylonian line, and the accession of a new dynasty of Median extraction. In consequence of his rank in the state, his revelations must have commanded attention, from the time of their delivery. As he was carried into captivity, when he was about twelve years old; he must have reached his eightieth year, at the time when he received this extraordinary revelation. As it tended to assure him, the termination of the captivity, as foretold by Jeremiah, of which two years remained unexpired, would not be directly followed with the accomplishment of those splendid visions, of which the prophets in a long succession had given intimation. It was decreed, that his countrymen should be restored to their native land; which was nevertheless destined to be the scene of confusion and anarchy, for the long period now disclosed to Daniel. As it would have been consequently attended with no gratification to this favored prophet, to whom God was pleased to declare his purposes, to include him among the number of the restored: he was spared the pain of witnessing the dangers and difficulties, with which they had to contend, in carrying the

object of their return into execution. To enable them to withstand the elements, with which they were assailed, time was necessary to strike and extend the roots, that had been severed by transplanting. He was therefore consoled with the assurance of a distant conjuncture, and informed of the period for which it would be deferred, when the most splendid of those visions, which inspiration had unfolded, would be realised; when, as he has himself expressed it, in the text, the crisis would arrive, " to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness."

2. Nor was there more wisdom, evinced in the choice of the *person* who was to make this disclosure, than in the selection of the *time*, at which it was imparted. This circumstance appeared of so much importance to the prophet himself, that he prefaces his account of the manner, in which the angel was despatched to communicate the vision which he received, by determining the time of the revelation. While he dates it from the first year of the monarch who succeeded to the throne of Chaldea, on the fall of its capital; he leaves us to infer, that by that event, which effected a revolution in the affairs of the East, his attention was directed to the restoration of his countrymen from the captivity. " In the first year of Darius, .... of the seed of the Medes,

which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans; in the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem." *

It has been fully ascertained, that the prophecies of Jeremiah were divided into two "books;" in both of which the restoration from the captivity is connected with the fall of Babylon, of which Daniel had been recently witness. In the first of these predictions, which was delivered in the remarkable year of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, by whom that desolation was effected, it is declared,—"These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." † In the writing, which the same "prophet sent from Jerusalem, unto the residue of the elders which were carried away captive, and to the priests, and to the prophets," ‡ a different and consolatory promise was delivered. "For thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will

* Dan. ix. 1, 2. † Jer. xxv. 11, 12. ‡ Jer. xxix. 1.

visit you, and perform my *good word* toward you, in causing you *to return* to this place." *

Upon this promise, the expectation of Daniel was founded, in addressing himself at this remarkable conjuncture in prayer to the Almighty; that " he would not defer, to cause his face to shine on the sanctuary, for his own sake, and the sake of his people." †

In the reduction of Babylon, which had now fallen into the hands of the Persians and Medes, he beheld every obstacle removed by which the accomplishment of the prediction had been hitherto impeded. The nation, by whom his country was held in subjection, had yielded, in their turn, to a people, whose interest it was to restore it to independence, and reinstate it in power. In being again placed on their western frontier, they opposed a mound to the encroachments of the surge, which threatened to overwhelm them. But beyond the accomplishment of this object, and of the great revolution by which it was brought about; he had a foresight of a higher and ulterior purpose in the omniscient designs. In subsequence to those political changes, of which he had received intimation; and of which he had revealed the progress, in predicting the transfer of sovereign power to the different nations who attained universal sway; he had

* Jer. xxix. 10. † Dan. ix. 17—19.

lately witnessed one of the most signal, when the imperial authority passed from the Chaldeans to the Persians. In this crisis, it was, that he received an earnest of that Great Consummation, to which the attention of mankind had been directed by the general tenor of prophecy.—"When dominion and glory and a kingdom would be given to one, whom all people, nations, and languages should serve; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."*

II. Such is the consummation to which the attention of the prophet is directed, by the winged messenger who descended for his instruction; by whom he is apprised, that "Seventy weeks are determined upon *thy people*, and upon *thy holy city*." From these words, which are rendered emphatical by their position, at the head of the prediction, it seems necessary that an ellipsis should be supplied in the context; where the epoch is determined, from whence the period of seventy weeks, or septenaries, should be computed. For as the angel subjoins, "know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to bring back [thy people,] and to restore [thy holy city] Jerusalem, unto the Messiah THE PRINCE shall be seven weeks, and three score and two weeks....And after

* Dan. vii. 14.

threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself."

On this distribution of the seventy septenaries, into portions of seven and sixty-two, a more convenient opportunity will arrive to enlarge hereafter. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to consider the period in its integrality, as declared to extend between two incidents, which are thus marked with every requisite precision: the promulgation of the decree for the restoration of the Jews, and the rejection, to cutting off, of the Messiah.

On the just determination of the date of the first of these incidents, which forms the epoch of the prophetical period, defined in the text, the accuracy of the entire computation depends. And it appears to be fixed by two characters which receive a striking illustration in the history of the turbulent times; to which the prophet not only alludes in express terms, but declares the period of their duration. The decree, "from the going forth of which," he computes, was issued for the specific purpose of "bringing back the people and restoring the holy city;" and as such it is distinguished from those decrees of the Persian monarchs, which had for their object, the rebuilding of *the temple*, or reconstruction of *the fortifications* of Jerusalem.

1. In the royal mandates, issued for the restoration of the Jews, these distinct objects are not

merely recognised, but they derive confirmation from the history of the jealous and hostile spirit, with which they were opposed by the neighbouring people, from the first efforts to carry them into execution. Of the four decrees promulgated with such an object, the first, granted by Cyrus and confirmed by that obtained from Darius Hystaspes, limited the powers which it conferred, exclusively to the "building the house of the Lord;"* and was accordingly addressed "to all those whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem."† They were succeeded by two others, issued by Artaxerxes, at an interval of thirteen years from each other; the first of which need only be inspected, when its conformity must be perceived to the description given by the prophet, "of the commandment to bring back the people, and to restore Jerusalem," from whence, he declares, the commencement of the "seventy weeks, determined upon the people and the holy city," was to be dated. If that decree be taken as a comment upon the terms, here used, and explained by comparison with the context; nothing can be deemed necessary, to the removal of the difficulty which has arisen, in fixing the epoch of the prediction. The characters, by which the prophet distinguishes it, are so plainly

* Ezra, i. 3. † Ibid. i. 5.

identified in the plenary powers, with which it invested Ezra, to collect the people dispersed through the Persian dominions, and to restore the polity and religion of the Holy City, that the resemblance cannot be mistaken or doubted. "I make a decree, that *all* they of the *people of Israel*, and of his priests and Levites, in my realm; which are minded of their own free-will *to go up to Jerusalem*, go with thee. Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand.... And thou Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people, that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know them not."* And the authority thus conferred was made absolute, by a delegation of the right, to enforce obedience "to the law of God, and the law of the king, by death or banishment, imprisonment or confiscation."†

The conclusion, at which we thus arrive from a comparative view of the prophetical text and the royal mandate, derives still further confirmation, from the history of the opposition encountered by the Jews, in carrying into execution the various decrees issued for their restoration. In

* Ezra, vii. 13, 14, 25. † Ibid. vii. 26.

the disposition manifested, on the part of the aliens, by whom they were surrounded, on their restoration, to confine them to the exercise of the powers, with which they were vested by the state; and in the jealousy which they labored to excite in the reigning dynasty, by representing the emancipated nation, as disposed to exceed those powers; we are enabled no less clearly to identify the particular decree, from which the epoch of the "seventy weeks" should be computed. On the part of the Jews, nothing was to be apprehended, by the dominant nation who had set them free, from the restoration of their *temple* and re-establishment of their *religion*. To this object, the immunities granted to them by Cyrus were strictly limited. But from the enclosure of their city within the muniment *of walls*, alarm might be reasonably felt, should they be disposed to make an effort for the recovery of their independence, and assume a posture of resistance or annoyance. Such was the plea, which their opponents ever urged at the Persian court, and with the desired effect; until the reign of Artaxerxes. "We certify the king," was their argument, as expressed in their own words, "that if this city be builded again, and *the walls thereof set up*, by this means thou shalt have no portion on this side the river."*

* Ezra, iv. 16.

Under the conviction that no such powers had been conceded, by the original grant, received from Cyrus; their suit was preferred to his successor Darius, "that search might be made in the house of the rolls for the original decree;"* and the copy of it, which was discovered at Ecbatana, confirmed their anticipations of its contents. Nor was the contest, on this subject between the hostile parties, terminated before the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; when the recognition of the right, then formally conveyed, at the intercession of Nehemiah, rendered all further opposition on the part of the enemies of the Jews, hopeless and unavailing.

It is, therefore, not a less fatal mistake, to deduce the epoch of the "seventy weeks," from the first edict, issued by Cyrus, to rebuild the temple; than to defer it to the date of the last, granted by Artaxerxes, which conceded the right to fortify the city. The latter supposition, which, it must be confessed, has the support of the highest authority in chronology, is an error, which could never have arisen, but from the inadvertence of confounding what is clearly distinguished in the context of the prophet. When he declares, that "the street shall be built again, and the walls, even in troublous times;" by which the advocates of the notion have been deceived; it

* Ezra, v. 17; vi. 1.

must be perceived, after a little attention, that his object is not to designate the particular *decree* from which his prophecy was to be dated, but simply to predict an *event*, which was to occur at a considerable interval after it. From the bare structure of the text, it is evident, that in those words, he as little intended to cite, as to refer to any mandate; but that he has merely advanced them, on his individual authority, and in the spirit of prophecy, with a view to the disclosure of the particular events, which would characterise one of the periods, into which he proceeds, in continuation of the text, to distribute the term of seventy septenaries, marked out in his prediction.

It may be concluded, therefore, from an examination of the subject, in all its circumstances; that at a distance, alike removed from either extreme of the period, in which the accomplishment of it has been sought, the epoch of this prophetical period must be deduced. Instead of ascending, on the one hand, to the times of Zerubbabel, or descending, on the other, to those of Nehemiah; we must turn to the intermediate time of the decree granted to Ezra; by whom *the religion and polity* of the Jews were restored, and by whom the event of their re-establishment has been circumstantially recorded. In an event of such paramount importance, more particularly when contrasted with the petty system of annoyance and opposition, which impeded the

foundation of the temple and erection of the city-walls, we might *a fortiori* expect the true epoch would be discovered.

In fixing it, to the restoration under Ezra, no slight confirmation of our views may be deduced from the analogy, observable between the circumstances that characterise it, and that distinguish the various epochs of the great periods predicted by Daniel: which we are justified in regarding as analogous, from the common reference which they bear to the great defections, denounced by him, as "the abomination of desolation." In those predictions, as we formerly took occasion to observe, each era is computed from the changes introduced in the *service of the temple;* changes which were particularly marked by the removal or restoration of *the sacred vessels*, without which it could not be celebrated. The importance of this incident, as critical, in the determination of the difficulty on which I have so long dwelt; if it were not deducible from the nature of the Levitical ceremonial; might be collected from the observations, with which the prophet opens his predictions. While reverting to the time of his own deportation to Babylon, when, as he declares, "the Lord gave Jehoiakim unto the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, with *part of the vessels* of the house of God;"* he fixes

* Dan. i. 2.

the great epoch, from which his predictions, in a continued succession to the great consummation of all things are computed. Among the circumstances, by which the return of Ezra is distinguished, no small stress is laid upon the fact, that those "vessels" were restored to him, to be employed in the service of the temple. For their application to this purpose, an express provision was made, in the decree which imparted to him his authority, as the restorer of the Jewish religion and polity, "the vessels also that are given thee for the service of the house of thy God, those deliver thou before the God of Jerusalem." *

III. The epoch of the prediction of the "seventy weeks" being once identified with the decree given to Ezra, for the return of the Israelites, and the restoration of the Jewish religion and polity; the date of it may be directly determined, on the authority of that learned priest and scribe, who carried it into effect. In the narrative which he has given of the event, it is with great precision recorded, that "he came to Jerusalem in the fifth month, which was in *the seventh year* of Artaxerxes the king." †

1. It merely remains, therefore, to the establishment of what has been proposed, that we should determine the nature and extent of the

* Ezra, vii. 19. Comp. viii. 25, 33, 36. † Ezra, viii. 7, 8.

period, which is designated under the term "weeks" by a common idiom of the Hebrew. And though, in that language the word is variously used to express a cycle of seven *days* or *years;* little difficulty exists in proving, on the authority of the prophet himself, that the more extended sense, is that in which he has used it. When he employs it in the more limited, he adds a qualification, using the phrase "weeks *of days*,"* as in the following chapter, in which the subject of the prediction before us is continued. On the contrary, the term is used, in other places of scripture, with an explanatory clause, which leaves us at no loss to determine its meaning. "Fulfil her *week*, yet *seven* other *years*,"† expresses the period which Jacob covenanted to serve for Rachel's hand, after having received that of Leah, as the recompense of his servitude, for a term, the length of which has never been doubted. That in a sense, thus extended, "the seventy weeks" of the prophecy should be understood, no difference of opinion consequently exists between the Jews and Christians. The necessary allowance being therefore made, for the difference in copiousness, between the original and the translation; little hesitation can be felt, in deciding, that, for "weeks," septenaries should be substituted; if we would not merely give to the phrase

* Dan. x. 2, 3. † Gen. xxix. 27.

its proper force, but render it intelligible to such readers as are unskilled in the Hebrew. On introducing this correction into the prediction, in which it is implied, that the prophet computes by sabbatical cycles; the text may be more idiomatically, and not less literally rendered, "Seventy *septenaries* are decided upon thy people, and upon thy holy city." As seventy septenaries, however, amount to 490 years; such is consequently the period defined by the prophecy; as indeed all commentators as well Jews as Christians are agreed in admitting.

The prediction having been thus explained, it may now receive a direct application to the events, which constitute the extremes of the interval defined in it; and which the prophet comprises between "the issue of the commandment to bring back and to restore Jerusalem," and "to bring in everlasting righteousness by the cutting off of the Messiah." If from the date of that decree granted by Artaxerxes to Ezra, and fixed by him, as we have seen, to the seventh year of the reign of that prince, the prophetical period be computed; it finds its close, in the year of our Lord's crucifixion. And as those events are referred, on the soundest chronological principles, to the year 457 before the vulgar Christian era, and the year 34 after it: the intervening interval precisely amounts to "seventy septenaries," or four hundred and ninety years, as revealed to the prophet.

2. On the circumstances introduced by Daniel, into the text, which characterise the great event which he has foretold, by its moral consequences and effects, it would be beside my purpose to enlarge at present. The task is indeed rendered superfluous, by the labours of the learned persons, who have preceded me, in my present undertaking. In the description, given by the inspired writers, of the design of our Lord's advent, of the effects which attended the sacrifice of the cross, and the great object it was intended to accomplish, in the redemption of mankind; they have clearly traced the various particulars, on which the prophet dwells so circumstantially and fully. Following the description of the text, they have consequently shown in detail,—how "the transgression was finished," by the Jews "who filled up the measure of their sins,"* when they "desired a murderer to be granted unto them, and killed the Prince of life:"†—how "an end was made of sins," by him "who once, in the end of the dispensation, appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself:"‡—how "reconciliation was made for iniquity," by him, "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood;"§—and how "everlasting righteousness was brought in," by him, who, "by his own blood, entered in once into the holy place, having

* 1 Thess. ii. 15. † Acts, iii. 14, 15.
‡ Heb. ix. 26. § Rom. iii. 25.

obtained eternal redemption for us."* They have shown, in a manner no less clear and satisfactory, how "the vision and prophecy were sealed up," when "all things were fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning"† Christ: how, in fine, "the Most Holy was anointed," when "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed with the devil; for God was with him."‡

3. It belongs more immediately to my province, to consider the characters of the prediction, as regarded in a light strictly chronological; among the most remarkable of which is the relation which it maintains to the mode of computing by septenaries, enjoined on the Jews; in the fixed succession of which, computed from the time of the establishment of the Israelites in the promised land, or indeed of their departure from Egypt, every seventh year was sanctified, and observed as a sabbath. Of the period of "seventy septenaries," it is observable, that it constituted ten jubilees; each of which consists of seven of these periods. In the revolution which they performed, as observed by the Jews; the seventh year of Artaxerxes, from whence the epoch of the restoration under Ezra is dated, is, however, found

* Heb. ix. 12. † Luke, xxiv. 44. ‡ Acts, x. 30.

to coincide with the commencing year of one of the cycles. It follows, that "the seventy weeks" predicted by Daniel, as deduced from that epoch, *open* with the *first year*, and as consisting of a series of septenaries, *close* with the *last year*, of a sabbatical period. From this disposition, the no less remarkable consequence results; that the ministry of our Lord is arranged according to the years of that cycle; and that his sacrifice, in which it terminated, fell in a sabbatical year. It will be surely admitted, that from coincidences so extraordinary, no inconclusive proof arises, of the correctness of the views, which we have taken of the subject. The computation of the course of time, by returns of the sabbatical period, was by the appointment of God himself; and it was his good pleasure, that the period determined by the prophet in the text, should consist of seventy of its revolutions. It would seem consequently to imply, if not a defect in the revelation, at least an error in our mode of expounding it, were the series of years, marked out in the one, incompatible with the course of time, as measured by the other.

We may, in conclusion, observe, from a general view of the subject, that in the period expressed by the prophet in the text, and described as extending to ten jubilees, it was the divine purpose to determine the duration of the temple service, with that of the Jewish Polity and Religion.

With this view, as we have seen, its epoch and its close were apparently chosen; to mark the interval which should elapse between its restoration by Ezra, and its abolition by the Messiah. When the prophecy is regarded in a more contracted view, the subject not only loses in point of consistency; but the revelation appears less adapted to the expectation of the prophet, whose consolation was, in some measure, consulted in its delivery. When understood in this latitude, it derives the fullest confirmation from the testimony of history; the temple service having been continued for the period predicted by Daniel, with the short intermission under Antiochus Epiphanes, of the occurrence and duration of which that prophet received an express revelation. Under the general view, in which it has been hitherto regarded; its object appears to be not less consistent than its end seems determinate; as intended to mark the precise time of the sacrifice of him "who through the eternal spirit offered himself without spot to God;"* from whom the ceremonial and typical service derived its efficacy, and on the offering of which, it decayed and vanished away. For thus, through faith in his blood, "who by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified,"† a

* Heb. ix. 14. † Heb. x. 14.

way was opened, for effecting the great moral and religious purposes which the text foretells,— "to make an end of sins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness."

# LECTURE VIII.

## DANIEL IX. 25.

"Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks."

WE may be led to conclude, from a superficial view of the nature and design of prophecy, that the evidence of the inspiration, from which it professes to be derived, will rise in its conclusiveness, in proportion to the clearness and precision of the revelation. The supposition would be indeed, indisputable, were it not reserved for human agents, who are free to project and to perform, to carry into effect the event which was predicted: and were not the evidence of the divine intervention, which prophecy conveys, intended to operate on our rational conviction. When this condition is admitted into our estimate, it leads rather to the inference, that, it is necessary to the attainment of such objects, the

prediction should be, in some instances, conveyed in obscure intimations; without which it is difficult to conceive, that design might not be supposed to have contributed, in some degree, to its fulfilment.

It will be readily allowed, that were any purpose distinctly avowed, and carried literally into effect, suitably to the disclosure; while the end was effected by competent persons, and interested in the result; it could convey no proof of preternatural foresight in him by whom it was predicted. Where a probability existed, that the occurrence was brought to pass through design; it would be absurd to infer from its accomplishment, that it had been foreknown, much less anticipated by inspiration. And as some persons might be disposed, through an officious zeal, to carry the prediction into effect; and others, through a profane scepticism, might be impelled to defeat it altogether; in order that the object proposed might not be frustrated, it seems necessary, that it should be obscurely revealed.

To the attainment of such a purpose, it is not sufficient, however, that the prophecy should be vague or implicated; for in such a form, it might be suited to any series of incidents, as well as another. Although it might be so far involved, as to leave those who were instrumental in carrying it into effect, so wholly unfettered in their freedom, as to be unconscious of the purpose

achieved by their intervention; it should possess a precision, that when carried into effect, the observer could have no reasonable ground for doubt, that the prediction so far agreed with the event, that it would not agree with any other. In no prophecy are the contrary qualities of involution and precision, blended with equal wisdom and felicity, as in that of "the seventy weeks;" of which the text suggests the division, and of which I formerly traced the outline. While it commences with stating the destiny that awaited the Jewish nation and city; it insinuates the great moral and religious purposes consummated in the event, which is the limiting term of the period predicted. These objects, which are distinguishable as political and moral, are so interwoven in the subject of the prophecy, as to have baffled every attempt of the over-curious to anticipate the result before its occurrence. It has been accordingly doubted, from which of the decrees of the Persian Kings, the epoch of the "seventy weeks," should be computed; and whether it properly terminates, with the crucifixion of our Lord, when the typical ordinances of the old dispensation were superseded by the substantial of the new; or, on the destruction of the temple, when the shadowy ceremonial was altogether abolished.

When, indeed, we are enabled to take a retrospective view of the subject predicted, and

behold it in all its circumstances; the difficulties which embarrass our inquiries into the truth, proportionably disappear with the facilities of examination. Having acquired a just conception of the great object of prophecy; and having the event, as foretold and as accomplished, immediately under our observation; our inferences no longer depend on uncertain conjecture, but rest on deliberate comparison. As the resemblances may be easily traced, our estimate is readily formed, how far the coincidences which arise from the comparison are the effect of accident or intention; how far of course they give evidence of a prescience, which can be alone imputed to inspiration.

The outline of the prophecy of "the seventy weeks," I formerly undertook to trace; when it was my object to show, that in the period of 490 years to which it extended, the duration of the Jewish polity was foretold; from its restoration under Ezra, to its abolition under the Messiah. In the text the same subject is prosecuted in detail; the period, summarily computed at seventy septenaries, and thus marked out by the two extremes between which it is comprised, being there distributed into portions of the same description termed "weeks;" each of which is no less clearly defined by some correspondent change in the ecclesiastical polity, of which it determines the duration.

It is matter, however, not merely of interest but of importance, to observe the manner, in which the subject, thus defined and apportioned, is comprehended in the prophetic view of the inspired author. In entering on the distribution of it, his attention seems to be arrested by one more prominent object; in seizing upon which, he overlooks the minor subjects, which furnished its natural divisions. "From the going forth of the commandment," he declares, "to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, unto *the Messiah, the Prince.*" To this paramount subject, on which he primarily fixes his attention, all prophecy was directed; from the first introduction of evil, on which the necessity of a Saviour was founded. The terms, on which redemption from the penalty then incurred was proffered, having been prophetical in the delivery; prophecy consequently became, from the first, "the testimony of Jesus." Thus early was an intimation conveyed of the recovery from the effects of the fall; the promise having been then given, that "the seed of the woman would bruise the head of the serpent."

It seems necessary that our attention should remain fixed on these considerations; in order to comprehend the method followed by the prophet, in the distribution of his subject. Having stated generally the period of seventy septenaries, to which the prediction was destined to extend; he specifies the great end to be effected in its accom-

plishment: "to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness." In directly subjoining the further object, "to seal up the vision and prophecy and to anoint the most Holy;" he intimates incidentally the grounds of its distribution into three periods, into which he proceeds to divide it. "From the going forth of the commandment .... unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be *seven* weeks, and *three score and two* weeks."

I. To so much of the prophet's division of his subject, as is defined in those words, it is my purpose to confine my present attention. On the distribution of the last week, which with the seven and sixty-two here enumerated, complete the period of seventy, an opportunity will hereafter occur for enlarging. Within the extremes of the entire period two events are distinguished, by which the division of the whole is effected; the "sealing up of the vision and prophecy" marking the termination of the first division consisting of "seven weeks;" and "the anointing of the most Holy," the termination of the second, consisting of "three score and two weeks." By this cardinal event in the prediction, the last division, consisting of "one week," and ascribed to the ministry of the Messiah, is separated from both the antecedent. As distinguished by the order of its occurrence, and the importance of its object, it is placed by itself, and particularly considered at the close of the prediction.

With reference to the *commencement* and the *close* of the entire period of Daniel; as respectively fixed, on a former occasion, in the year 457 before Christ, and the year 34 of the vulgar era; the intermediate dates, by which, as consisting of 7, 62, and 1 week of years, it is distributed into periods of 49, 434, and 7 years, may now be easily determined. The conterminous limit of the first and second of these periods, which marks the duration of the order of prophets, is thus referred to the 408th year before Christ; and that between the second and third, which marks the time of the anointing of the Messiah to his office and ministry, is referred to the 27th year of the current era; or, from the error in the vulgar mode of reckoning, the 31st from the nativity.

On the possibility of proving the correspondence of each of those events with the date which is ascribed it, the prediction necessarily depends for its verification. It will not only conduce to this end, but to the vindication of the sense, ascribed to the phraseology of the prophecy, from whence the distribution of it has been deduced; to show that the division of the "seventy weeks," to which it leads, when taken in such a sense, is not only founded in fact, but is suggested by the nature of the subject.

1. By "sealing up the vision and prophecy, and anointing the most Holy," it has been generally though erroneously supposed, that incidents connected, or indeed identical in time,

must be meant by the prophet. As all prophecy is justly considered "the testimony of Jesus;" it has been supposed, that it was sealed, or *confirmed*, from the time, when "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth, with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed with the devil, for God was with him."* But the original term, rendered in our version "to seal up," literally means "to put an end to," and it is used in the latter sense in the context. There is besides, little ground for dispute, that when taken in such a sense, it best coincides with the object of the prophet. And as in such an acceptation, it marks out events which were separated by the interval of centuries; the cessation of the order of prophets having so long preceded the preaching of the Baptist, who anointed Christ to his ministry: the correspondence of the time of those events, with the dates by which the prediction is distributed, seems sufficient to establish the assumption, that in the phrase, "sealing up the vision and prophecy," the basis is intentionally laid, for that distribution of the prediction, which is subjoined in the context.

Independent, however, of any sense which may be assigned to that phrase; a fitness and wisdom is apparent in that mode of dividing the subject, which we suppose it was designed to

* Acts. x. 30.

suggest, that strongly confirms the foregoing assumption. In *the two* great events, from the date of which respectively the distribution of the prophecy has been effected: the subject of it finds an obvious and natural division. With regard to the *second*, which is computed by the opening of Christ's ministry; no difference of opinion exists among the interpreters of the prediction. At this conjuncture, when the sixty-second week ended, and the last week commenced, the most important change was effected in the divine dispensations: in place of the rudimental and typical institutions, which had prevailed until that time, in the Mosaic Dispensation, the foundation was then laid for effectual and spiritual ordinances, in the Christian. In fact, no question is mooted, whether in this conjuncture, the subject finds an obvious division, the last week of "the seventy" being separated, in this light, from the sixty-nine which preceded, by the general concurrence of the expositors. With respect to the event which marked the close of the first "seven weeks," by which the *previous* division of the subject is determined, the only controversy arises. The period however of the *cessation* of prophecy, by which it is defined, appears to be inferior in its importance to that only of its *accomplishment*, from which it is usually determined; the effects produced upon the ecclesiastical polity, which was the main subject of the

prediction, by both these events, though differing in magnitude, were equally deserving of remark. If from the latter of them, one division of the prophecy was deduced; the analogy of the case would imply, that another might be derived from the former. A paradox, which can scarcely merit exposure, is at least implied in the supposition, that the different periods of "seven and sixty-two" septenaries into which the prophecy is divided, should so precisely coincide with the different events, with which we shall soon take occasion to trace their connexion; and that the coincidence should be in the one case the effect of accident, while in the other it was the result of intention.

2. The true sense being so far vindicated to the phrase, it may be easily applied in the distribution of the prediction. The text and context of the prophet appears to be so intimately allied, that the one may be explained by the simple process of interpolating it with the other. When the ellipses, necessary to its comprehension, are thus supplied; the meaning for which I contend will be apparent without a comment. The signification which the prophet left to be elicited, by the inquiring, may be thus fully expressed in his own words; it having been his object to declare, that of "the seventy weeks" to be computed "from the going forth of the commandment to bring back and to restore Jerusalem,

there should be *seven* weeks [to the sealing up of the vision and prophecy;] and three score and two weeks, [to the anointing of the most Holy."] And thus, it may be observed, by the way, a sufficient reason is assigned for the singularity of the prophet's expression, in measuring the intervening term, from the issuing of the decree to the advent of the Messiah, in the broken period, of "seven weeks and three score and two weeks." For, having specified the object of the partition, in the preceding clause; he seems to overlook it, not only without impropriety, but it may be said with grace; as his attention fastens on the paramount object, in which his own prediction, and indeed the entire system of prophecy, would be consummated,—"the anointing of the Most Holy."

In reply to any other objection which may be raised to the view which is thus taken of the subject, we must recur to the principles, asserted at the commencement of this lecture. From them an answer may be easily drawn to the exception which may be raised, against the comparative clearness, that the prophecy assumes, in the light wherein it has been lately placed, and in that in which it has been set by the prophet. In the necessity, to which he was reduced, of involving the purpose which he was required to disclose, the justification may be found of the obscurity in which it is thrown; but which at once dis-

appears on setting the parts in their natural position.

II. The distribution of the prophet's subject being so far determined, and the incidents ascertained, to which we are to look for its verification; it yet remains for me to show, that the events, of which he not only foretells the occurrence but fixes the time, were strictly answerable to the prediction. A very cursory examination enables us to perceive that in the religious polity of the Jews, as restored under Ezra, a change actually occurred; that while it establishes the fact, illustrates at once the accuracy of the distribution, intimated in the text, and the wisdom and fitness evinced in the choice of the circumstances, on which it is founded.

1. The object of the decree for the restitution of the Jews, from which the predicted period of "seventy weeks" deduces its epoch and derives its character, has been frequently asserted in the course of this discussion. It was granted by the Persian monarch, for the express purpose of restoring the religious and civil polity of the Jews; which, from the peculiar nature of the Mosaic law, were identical. In the reverses to which the nation was exposed, from migration and conquest, it underwent considerable modifications. As forcibly rooted up, and transported to a different soil and clime, its character and productiveness were essentially altered. The jurist and anti-

quary have accordingly recognised an important change in it; and have referred it to a time, which does not differ essentially from the date which has been pointed out, as cardinal in the prediction before us. From the restoration under Ezra, as they inform us, the order of prophets continued, and retained their influence in the state. On the cessation of that order, the character of the government was essentially changed; the authority having then passed into the hands of the men of the synagogue.

In the fitness and expediency of the revolution which was thus effected in the national polity; the wisdom and suitableness evinced by the prophet in the distribution of his subject receives illustration and confirmation. Among the incidents, which tended to diversify the fortunes of the Jews, and furnished the historian, with the subject of his narrative; none could be selected by the prophet that were better suited to sustain the character of the prediction, or prove the inspiration of its author.

In the part which was assigned to Ezra, he stood in need of associates, endowed with more than natural powers. In conducting his countrymen from Babylon to Jerusalem, and restoring the religion and polity to its pristine purity and splendor; his office differed not very considerably from that of Moses, in leading the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, and subjecting them to

a new code of law and religion. The difficulties which beset him in the undertaking were so formidable, that he intimates the necessity under which he was placed, of seeking preternatural succour, in the narrative which he has transmitted of his expedition from Babylonia. "I was ashamed," he declares, "to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him. So we fasted and besought our God for this: and he was intreated of us."*

But besides the restoration of the religion of Moses to its pristine state; Ezra had yet another and no less important office to discharge; as necessary to transmit to succeeding ages, the benefits of which he was the instrument. During the period of the captivity, the sacred writings were widely dispersed, and liable to corruption, from the private hands by which they were transcribed and transmitted. It may be doubted, whether there were collections of the historical books, or authenticated copies of the psalms and prophets, before Ezra's return to Judea. With the exception of Isaiah, the chief part of the prophetical scriptures was composed or published,

* Ezra, viii. 22, 23.

subsequently to the date of the captivity. The deportation to Babylon had occurred before Ezekiel and Daniel had delivered their predictions; those of Jeremiah were published on the eve of that event; and Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi had written after the restoration. Of the other prophets, designated as minor, many having flourished previously to the dispersion of the tribes; their works lay dispersed and neglected in the hands of private possessors. To concentrate the scattered and divergent rays, into one fixed and permanent light, required higher powers and endowments. To collect, authenticate, and review these scriptures, and deposit them in a place, at once secure and accessible, was an undertaking which required no ordinary powers or attainments. Before the gift of inspiration was withdrawn, it was accordingly undertaken by Ezra and Nehemiah. Of the former, it is accordingly related, "that he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses;"* in which it is implied, that the sacred writings had not only undergone his revision, but were transcribed by his pen. And of the latter, it is equally recorded, that "he founded a library, and gathered together the acts of the Kings, and of the Prophets, and of David;"† under which designation the whole of the Hebrew scriptures, which have been since received as canonical, may

* Ezra, vii. 6. † 2 Maccab. ii. 13.

be included. From such authorities, supported by circumstantial and traditionary evidence, it is concluded, that the body of those scriptures was compiled in a form not differing essentially from that which they still retain; and were reposited in a chamber of the temple, built for the purpose, where they remained, until the destruction of the sacred edifice by Titus.

The fitness and expediency will be, therefore, admitted, that works of so much importance and difficulty should be undertaken, before the order of prophets became extinct. And so long it appears, on evidence as well internal as external, the succession continued. From the writings of Haggai and Zechariah it is apparent, that while the building of the temple proceeded, they aided the pious labours of Ezra and Nehemiah, by their exhortations and rebukes of the people. It is no less obvious, from the admonition and reproofs of Malachi, that his prophecies were delivered when the structure was completed. From the similarity which has been traced between his predictions and the writings of Nehemiah, it has been concluded, that they not only lived at the same time, but were engaged in the same undertaking.

With the last named prophets, who appear from their writings to have delivered their predictions after the foundation of the second temple, it is on all sides agreed, the order of prophets

ceased. It is accordingly the concurrent admission of the Jewish and Christian Churches, which have been the witnesses and guardians of the integrity of Scripture, that after Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, no other prophet appeared: until, as the primitive fathers add, the coming of John the Baptist. The testimony of Nehemiah is, however, express, that he reached the times of Darius Nothus; in the fifteenth year of whose reign, the first of the periods, into which the seventy weeks are distributed, is found by computation to have ended. It has been equally computed, from the succession of the High Priests, mentioned by that writer, who was the coadjutor and contemporary of Ezra; that in the same year of that monarch of Persia, the government ceased, which they exercised in common. As this year falls at the distance of "seven weeks, from the going forth of the commandment to restore Jerusalem," to its pristine state; in it, the prediction, in limiting, to that space of time, the duration of the prophetical vision, received the most exact verification.

2. In proceeding to the consideration of the second period of the prophecy, which extends to "sixty-two weeks;" it is almost superfluous to premise, that, as it is consecutive to the first; in the establishment of the close of the one, the commencement of the other is necessarily determined. It is, however, deserving of remark,

that the partition of the series of weeks, computed to the times of the Messiah, at this particular crisis concurred with the natural division of the subject. An essential change having then taken place in the circumstances of the Jewish polity, it induced a correspondent change in its discipline.

The compilation of the scripture canon having been effected, the rule of faith and morals was necessarily completed. In the doctrinal books all essential points of practice and belief were inculcated: in the historical the fortunes of the church were recorded, for the past ages; in the prophetical its destinies were revealed for the future. The perfection ascribed to the sacred scriptures involved the inference, that the inspired order of prophets, by whom they had been in part composed, and were now authenticated and revised, were no longer needful. Whatever reasons might be advanced to prove that a necessity existed for the continuance of the inspiration by which they were moved; would serve equally to prove, that some imperfection or deficiency existed in the sacred canon which it had dictated.

When the state of affairs introduced under Ezra was fully established; an inferior order of instructors, to that which was requisite to originate the system, was competent to administer it. To the order of prophets, the men of the synagogue who differed from them in rank and

office, consequently succeeded, as it is generally allowed, by his appointment. In restoring the service of the temple, he prescribed the course to be observed in the prayers and psalmody, and regulated the sacrificial observances. He had likewise determined the succession of fasts and festivals, dedicated to penitence or rejoicing. Having collected and revised the scriptures, which prescribed the rule in jurisprudence as well as in religion; he found it necessary to provide for the just administration of the laws, ecclesiastical and civil, and the observance and preservation of the national institutions. The order of the men of the synagogue was accordingly instituted; under whose administration the character of the polity was essentially altered. The difference between them and the prophetical order was commensurate to the function which they respectively discharged; they being invested with ordinary powers, instead of the extraordinary enjoyed by their predecessors. From the altar, which burned with hallowed fire, the living coal was easily obtained, by which the golden censer or candlestick were kindled.

But it is not merely to the diversity in the endowments and functions of the two orders, who are here contrasted; but to the history of the fate of those, who succeeded in the administration; that we are to look, for the justification of the prophet, in founding upon the difference,

the division of the period, between the return of Ezra and the advent of the Messiah, "into seven and sixty-two" septenaries.

After the subversion of the Persian authority in the East, by the Macedonian arms; the Greek customs and opinions obtained, by insensible degrees, an influence over the oriental. The form of government, transmitted by Ezra to the Jews, was gradually moulded after the spirit of that, which the western conquerors had imported with their colonies, or had imposed on the subjected nations. The power distributed among the members of the ancient regimen was consequently concentrated in a great council, termed the Sanhedrim; the derivation of the name of which from the Synedrion of the Greek sufficiently reveals its Grecian origin. By the Hasmonæan dynasty, who recovered and maintained the national independence against the successors of Alexander, this great consistory was established; and it retained its rights and immunities, whilst the descendants of the Maccabees retained the Jewish sceptre. On the subversion of this dynasty, when Aristobulus was deposed by Pompey, the pontificate, without the throne, was conferred upon his brother Hyrcanus; and Syria being reduced to a Roman Province, the subjection of Judea to the president Gabinius, left to the native rulers but the semblance of power. When Antigonus, the last of the Hasmonæan line, was taken off; and the kingdom was trans-

ferred to Herod; it became necessary to the security of his throne, that the national consistory should be set aside; he accordingly cut off all its members, with the exception of two, who had favoured his pretensions. Still further to weaken and degrade it, he transferred its name, without its powers, to a council, devoted to his will, and summoned at his pleasure; while to humble and reduce the pontificate, he bestowed it on an obscure stranger of Babylonian extraction. On the partition of Herod's kingdom among his four sons, it scarcely retained the shadow of authority; the small remnant of its power being transferred to four synods stationed in the different tetrarchies: the members of which were elected from such of the aristocracy as were distinguished for their rank, their influence, or property. The Sanhedrim, to which they were subordinate, continued notwithstanding to hold its sittings in the stone chamber of the temple, with the right to decide appeals, referred to it from those provincial synods. But on the elevation of the procuratorship of Judea into a presidency, it became not only powerless, but degraded; the decision of capital causes being reserved by the Roman governor to himself, and judgment delivered upon them from the pretorium. In contempt and defiance of its authority, Pilate, the second person who held the office, profaned the holy city, by introducing into it, by night, the imperial statues, in the very first

year of his government. As the date of this event is on historical record, and is referred to the year 27 of the vulgar christian era; in thus coinciding with the last year of the sixty-second week, as formerly determined, it adds the last evidence necessary to the establishment of the point which we have essayed, and proves the prediction accomplished to the letter.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the prophet passes over the second of the periods, into which his prediction is distributed, without expressly defining its extremes; leaving them to be determined by the close and the commencement of the two periods, between which it is interjected. To account for his omission, it will suffice to observe, that during its continuance, few incidents occurred that did not derive their interest or prominence from the connexion of the national with the Gentile history. No notice is accordingly taken of it, in the sacred writings: the historical books not extending so low, and the prophetical overlooking it altogether. For although it was revealed to Daniel himself, that, in the course of it, the temple would be profaned, and Judea overrun by an invading army; these incidents are mentioned with a view to determine its character, not to fix its duration.

In the same spirit, it seems to have been disregarded, by the last of the order of prophets, who delivered their predictions previously to its commencement. The prophet Malachi, while

standing on the very verge of the great void, created by this barren period, in the purely national annals, seems wholly to overlook it. Directing his attention to the time of its close, which was pregnant with higher and permanent interests; he undesignedly connects both extremes of the sixty-two septenaries to which it extends, by the prominent objects which form its natural boundaries:—which Daniel defines, as "the sealing up of prophecy, and the anointing the Most Holy." In the prophetic vision, his view extends from his own times to those of the desired Personage, to whom the general expectation was directed. He exhibits him as sanctifying the temple, of which he had lately witnessed the erection, with his presence; and gives those splendid views of the establishment and extension of his religion, of which we have witnessed the dawn and await the meridian glories. "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of Hosts." "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts." *

* Mal. iii. 1. i. 11.

# LECTURE IX.

## DANIEL, IX. 26.

"And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined."

THE object intended in prophecy was to awaken in mankind the expectation of a Redeemer; and to prepare them for a period of peace and righteousness, suitable to the moral attributes of the Creator, and the welfare and happiness of his creatures. At the time of the appearance of the Divine Personage, in whom these expectations were realised; the object for which the inspired order of prophets was instituted was generally acknowledged. The chosen witnesses of the miraculous operation, which proved that the predicted period had arrived, in discharging the object of their mission proposed the subject,

in this view to their hearers. They accordingly declared, "that all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days."*

The angel who was deputed to give the prophet Daniel an insight into futurity, in directing his attention to "those days," describes them as arrayed in all the characters of innocence and righteousness, in which they were regarded in the prophetical vision. On the qualities of sinless repose, by which they were to be distinguished, he particularly dwells, in his opening of the subject predicted; declaring emphatically, that it was the divine intention "to make reconciliation for iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness."† While he intimates, that the time, for which this consummation was deferred, would be marked by several reverses, in the destiny of the Jews, and their city and temple; he steadily keeps in view, the Divine Personage, by whose mediation and ministry the promised consummation would be effected.

To this object, the prophecy again reverts in the text: as the end of the divine purpose, which would be gradually developed. After having connected, as we observed on a previous occasion, the first and second of the three periods into which the "seventy weeks" were distributed;

* Acts, iii. 24. † Dan. ix. 24.

it again introduces the subject, with a similar purpose. As the prophet, in the antecedent allusion, took occasion to define the time of the Messiah's advent; he returns to it, in the present, to describe the character of his ministry.

I. But however the attention of Daniel may appear to be absorbed by this paramount object, it seems not to have altogether engrossed his attention. The advantage of the people for whose instruction he wrote, and to whose interests he immediately addressed himself, demanded his consideration; and they had the stronger claim upon his attention, in consequence of the remoteness of the event which was the proper object of the revelation. In the fate of the holy city and temple, he was naturally interested: on their permanence, the religion and polity of which he reveals the duration, depended for their existence. With a subject thus entwined with his national sympathies, he interweaves the prediction, which he divides, as we formerly observed, according to the distribution of the period of seventy septenaries, by which it was measured, into *seven*, and *sixty-two*, and *one week* of years. In *the first* of which, he declares, Jerusalem and its fortifications would be completed; in *the second*, the city and temple would be polluted, and the land overrun by a people who had at the time no national existence, but "were to come;" and in *the third*, they

would be laid waste and ruined, and consigned to eternal desolation.

1. On regarding thus comprehensively the scope and object of the prophecy, no doubt can be long entertained, that the Romans are assigned a prominent place in it; and that of them the predictions of the text must be in a great measure understood. From an injudicious attempt to limit the part, assigned them by the prophet, to the final desolation of the temple and city; the great difficulties have arisen, by which it has been embarrassed: its interpreters having been misled, by the mistaken though well meant endeavour, to extend the part assigned in it to the Messiah beyond its proper limits. In the halo with which he was arrayed, the objects that surrounded him acquired that borrowed light, which has been mistaken, on a superficial view, for their native lustre. Nor can these difficulties be effectually removed; until the provinces allotted to the different parties, described as engaged in it, are accurately defined and apportioned.

When indeed, the influence exercised by the Romans, in the establishment and diffusion of the religion of the Messiah, is considered; it is difficult to evade the conclusion, that it must have operated under the direction of an overruling providence. It seems not easy to resolve, into an accidental or fortunate concurrence of

events, the effects which they were the means of producing, in the great object of which revelation had given intimation. On the nativity of "him, who *was born* king of the Jews," * we are assured, on the faith of history, that through their interposition, the Jews had no longer a king; the last prince of the Idumæan line, to whom the throne had descended, having been reduced, under their authority, to the rank of an ethnarch. When the predicted heir to the kingdom of David was anointed to his ministry, the national council, from whose opposition the success of it was alone likely to be impeded, was by their interference limited in its jurisdiction. And when the same divine person, publicly assumed his office, as the Mediator of a new covenant; that council was by the same authority compelled to abdicate its seat at Jerusalem, where alone its decisions were attended with legal effect. Through their intervention, the old and waning dispensation, which had been established by Moses, was perfected and finally abolished; as, in compassing the death of Christ, they were the means of his offering that sacrifice, in which, the types of the law were filled up, when its shadowy ordinances vanished. And by their hands, the ceremonial, which, when that offering was made, remained but in form, was buried in

* Matt. ii. 2.

the ruins of the temple; that edifice having been reduced by them to ashes, and Jerusalem levelled to the foundation.

To this last named catastrophe, which was effected by the soldiers of Titus, and in which the destruction of the temple was preceded by its pollution, it has been customary to confine the description of the text, respecting "the people of the prince that should come." But two considerations are sufficient to decide, that instead of being thus postponed to the last of the seventy weeks, it should be included within them, and referred to the second of the three periods, extending to "sixty-two weeks," into which it is distributed. In this order it is palpably introduced in the prediction; being mentioned previously to the occurrences included in the last period, consisting of one week. A separate description is given, at the close of the prophecy, of the pollution and destruction of the city and temple by Titus; with which, it would therefore seem reasonable to conclude, it should not be confounded. On regarding it, consequently, in the order of its introduction, as placed before the commencement of the last week, and after the close of the seventh, it must be referred to the second, or intermediate period, consisting of sixty-two septenaries.

As events occurred within this time, which precisely answer to the terms of the prediction,

and are of that magnitude and importance, which renders it improbable they should be overlooked: it is surely preposterous to look beyond them, for the incidents in which it was fulfilled.

2. When reduced to this consideration, the question respecting the meaning of so much of the text, is brought to its proper issue. On confronting the terms of the prediction with the events in which its accomplishment is to be sought; the identity will at once appear in the closeness of the resemblance. Whatever difficulties may be raised, as to the precise object of the prophet's description; it admits of no doubt, that he foretells some disaster with which the city and temple were menaced: when "the prince of the people that should come, should destroy the city and the sanctuary." We know, on authority the most unquestionable, that within the specified period of "sixty-two weeks," the Romans were twice the authors of such a visitation on Jerusalem. When justice is so far done to the prophet's meaning, as to free it from the misrepresentation to which it is liable, when viewed through the medium of a false translation; little difficulty will arise in determining the objects to which he has alluded. When very little allowance is made for the difference in the idioms of the Hebrew and English; the latter part of the text may be thus literally rendered:

" but the people of *the leader* which is to come, shall *pollute*, [or waste] the city and the sanctuary; and the end shall be an *overrunning* [of the land], and to the termination of the war *desolations* are decided."

It is obvious from the course of events, within the second period of the prediction, that to no other people but the Romans can this description be applicable. It cannot be applied in strictness, to the Hellenists of Syria; although it must be granted, that, by them, the land was overrun and the temple polluted. For, independent of the consideration, that these visitations are the subject of a separate prediction; the circumstances under which they occurred will not agree with the description of the prophecy which is before us. The Jews, previously to the assertion of their freedom, under the Maccabees, were the subjects of the Seleucidæ, to whom they became dependant under Antiochus the Great; having previously owed allegiance to the dynasty of the Ptolemies of Egypt. Under the son of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, the city and temple were polluted; they were, however, entered by that prince, as a sovereign, not as a conqueror: not to reduce the refractory natives to subjects, but to chastise them as rebels. By the persecution with which they were harassed, to induce them to abjure their religion, they were roused to that resistance, which ended in the recovery of their freedom.

With the vigor, imputed to their native palm, which, under pressure, rises to a greater height, and spreads with more luxuriance, their energies seemed to increase under oppression. In the independance, which they had thus won by their arms, they resisted the Roman invaders; who subdued and held their country in subjection, until its utter desolation. During their domination, Jerusalem was visited with those calamities, in which the prophecy was literally accomplished.

The precise force of the prediction having been already disclosed; if we now set it in opposition with the events that marked the progress of the Roman arms in Judea, the inference will not require a formal deduction to render it obvious. Within the predicted period, Pompey entered Jerusalem and besieged the most holy place. The result of this hostile movement was the slaughter of between twelve and thirteen thousand Jews, who perished in its defence; and over whose bodies, the victorious soldiery proceeded to the Holy of Holies, which was profaned by their presence. The consequence of their resistance to the Roman invaders was the demolition of the walls of the temple, and the reduction of Judea into a Roman province. In twenty-six years from these events, in which the circumstances of the prediction were so signally verified; a like catastrophe ensued, to which it is

probable it equally alludes, as it speaks in the plural, of "the desolations which were decided." At this time, Jerusalem was besieged by Sosius, Antony's lieutenant, in conjunction with the forces of Herod; and the city was entered, through the indiscriminate slaughter of its defenders, by the confederate army. Among the first fruits of this victory, which settled Herod on the throne of the Hasmonæans, was the extirpation of the Sanhedrim, which had sustained the authority of the ejected dynasty; and which were cut off almost to a man by that fortunate tyrant. As it cannot be conceived, that events of such fatal importance, of such extensive influence on the fate of the nation, would be overlooked by the prophet, while engaged in revealing its destiny; it seems preposterous to a degree of absurdity, to look beyond them, for the accomplishment of that prediction, with which they so exactly agree in the circumstances and time of their occurrence.

3. It is further deserving of remark, as tending to establish the connexion between these events and the description of the prophet; that the notion of their identity, at the time when they positively occurred, gave rise to the sect of the Herodians. For the prophet having been erroneously supposed to allude only to one leader, who, from the circumstances of the prediction, must be consequently supposed the expected Messiah;

and being therefore conceived to refer to no other person, in declaring, that "the people of the leader who should come, would pollute the city and the sanctuary:" it was necessarily concluded, as so much of the prediction was, in some measure, verified in the person of Herod, that he was the personage, of whom not only Daniel, but "all the prophets gave witness." While they erred so egregiously in this supposition; they were right, in the main conclusion, that in the events wherein he bore so distinguished a share, they were to look for the partial accomplishment of the prediction, and so far their testimony is of value.

In corroboration of the same conclusion, it may be added, that from the date of the capture of Jerusalem by Herod, as the commencement of a new era, the Jews, at the present day, reckon the succession of their years; although, in the course of time, the monuments on which it has been inscribed, have been worn out and obliterated. And by this date, they have arranged the series of cycles, by which the lapse of time is proleptically computed to the creation; in which, the date of that event is consequently advanced, 243 years, below the true epoch.

II. Of the different subjects embodied in the text, that which, from its importance, has first attracted the prophet's attention, more particularly demands our consideration. At the expi-

ration of the sixty-second week, his readers were led by him to expect a still more important result. If the rendering of the received translation be adopted; at this conjuncture, "Messiah should be cut off, but not for himself."

Without entering at present into the difficulties with which this version embarrasses the sense of the prophet; it will be sufficient to observe of it, that the translators were so little satisfied with it, that they have placed a different version in the margin. Of the Messiah, who, they declare in the text, "would be cut off," they there assert, that "he should have nothing:" but surely, if the latter clause express the sense of the prophet, the former must be understood with some modification. For admitting, as the original seems to exact, that the marginal rendering is correct; it is worse than nugatory or impertinent, to assert of him who was to "be cut off," that he would become destitute.

On a critical examination of the text, the inconsistency is, however, easily removed; as the antecedent clause, when properly understood, fully corresponds with the subsequent. The term *cherith*, which is employed by the prophet, and taken in the sense of *cutting off*, is never used in the language of Jewish jurisprudence, of which it is a proper term, to express the judicial infliction of death. The sentence pronounced under that term, was indeed passed upon the

greatest crimes, of which the Sanhedrim took cognizance, but it never amounted to capital punishment. According to the decision of the later jurists, the culprit, on whom it had passed, was merely delivered up to the divine vengeance. When he had undergone the degradation of being publicly whipped; he was regarded as placed out of the protection of the law. It was then deemed no crime in those who inflicted its last sentence upon him: as a sapless branch, which was alike unproductive of foliage or fruit, the soundness and vigor of the trunk, to which it spread corruption, required its amputation. And some furious enthusiasts, who conceived it meritorious to execute summary justice on such offenders, acquired from the act, the name and reputation of zealots. The term *cherith*, however, in the primitive sense of the word, or as it was used by Moses, was more limited in its acceptation. In the Code of Jewish Law and Religion, which he promulgated, it was applied to the violaters of the Covenant, contracted under that dispensation; and consequently signified nothing more than a *cutting off* from the communion and privileges of Israel: until growing more comprehensive, with the progress of time, it latterly included in its meaning an abandonment to the vengeance of heaven. With reference to the clause of the prediction which is before us, as it will not be contended, that, in

the latter sense, it was applicable to the case of the Messiah: we are reduced to the alternative of taking it, in the earlier and more general acceptation. With this restriction, it may be concluded, that as used in the text, it simply means an exclusion, or cutting off, from the communion of those who were admitted into the Covenant. On taking it in such a sense, the consistency of the context is preserved; as it merely reveals, that the rejection of the Messiah to cutting off would be followed by his utter destitution.

The proper force being so far vindicated to the text; it is to be observed, that by two circumstances in the history of the Messiah, the close of the sixty-second week would be distinguished. At that time, as we formerly took occasion to observe, the period would arrive, "to anoint the Most Holy;" and as the text, under the view which has been taken of it, further reveals, "he would be rejected to cutting off, and reduced to a state of destitution."

By such characteristics we must regard the close of the second period of the seventy weeks as meant to be defined: it remains, therefore, to shew, that by such, it was to an eminent degree distinguished. And it will conduce, not merely to the substantiation of this point, but to the identification of the Divine Person, in whom the prediction was fulfilled, to prove, in detail, that

precisely at the time foretold, it received, in both its parts, the most exact verification.

1. The close of the sixty-second week was, on a former occasion, identified with the 27th year of the vulgar christian era. The first of the two incidents, indicative of the appearance of the Messiah at that time, on which the prophet insists, is, that "the Most Holy would then be anointed." In this phrase, the allusion is obvious to the unction, used under the law; in which, oil was a symbol of the sanctity imparted by the Holy Spirit, in the rite of consecration to any office. The application of the description to our Lord, not merely in the time but the circumstances of its occurrence, is no less apparent, from the narrative of his baptism; when "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power."*

It is recorded with great precision by the evangelist, that "when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened, and *the Holy Ghost descended*, in a bodily shape like a dove, *upon him*, and a voice came from heaven which said, Thou art my beloved son; in thee I am well pleased. And Jesus himself was *about thirty years of age*, when commencing"† his course. The Levitical law, to which he, who from this unction took the title of Christ or Mes-

* Acts, x. 38. † Luke, iii. 21, 22.

siah, shewed his disposition on this occasion scrupulously to conform, had prescribed the period of life, between thirty and fifty years, as the limits within which persons might be admitted to the sacred function. In compliance with this requisition, Jesus had but completed his thirtieth, and entered his *thirty-first* year, at the time of receiving the prophetical unction. On computing the course of time from the epoch of his nativity, chronologists have however decided, that an error of *four years* exists in the vulgar mode of reckoning. On correcting this error, by allowing for so many years in the age of Christ, when baptized; the date of that event will exactly coincide with the 27th year of our era; and thus corresponding with the close of the sixty-second week, verify, to the most critical accuracy, the time fixed by the prophet "to anoint the Most Holy."

The date thus determined derives even further confirmation, from another chronological character, which admits of being no less clearly established. From the testimony of the same evangelist, it appears, that it coincided with the commencement of the Baptist's ministry; as he declares, that "when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that Jesus also was baptized." * And this event he has with equal exactitude referred to the "*fifteenth* year of the reign

* Luke, iii. 21.

of Tiberius Cesar."* As this date is identified, on indisputable chronological characters, with the 27th year of the vulgar era; it necessarily coincides with that, in which it has been shewn, the prediction received its accomplishment.

Regarding the demonstration of the Messiah, as far as it has been hitherto conducted; thus far, we may observe, the proof had been effected, in the bare specification of the time of his unction to the prophetical office. He had been thus identified, beyond all exception or doubt, with the inspired person, to whom the attention of the Jewish nation had been turned, since the foundation stone of their religion had been laid, by "that Moses, which said unto the children of Israel, *a prophet* shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, *like unto me:* him shall ye hear."†

2. But to deprive them of every pretext for cavil or offence, at the state of abasement in which he chose in his wisdom to appear; it was graciously provided, that they should be apprised, it was not undesigned in the counsels of providence. Into this object we may venture to resolve the intention of the prophet, in disclosing, that the Messiah "would be rejected to cutting off," and that "he would be utterly destitute." Of the different parts of this revelation,

* Luke, iii. 1. † Acts, vii. 37. Comp. Deut. xviii. 15. 18.

the exact accomplishment may be traced, in the unsophisticated narrative of the evangelists. And their testimony rises in its conclusiveness, with the conviction, that it is wholly undesigned; as they obviously wrote with no view to the verification of a prediction, the truth of which they so fully establish.

Of the accuracy of the prediction, that the Messiah would be thus "despised and rejected of men,"* the history of his life is indeed a continued exemplification. It was avowed, even from the time of his incarnation, that "he was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came to his own, and *his own received him not.*"† After the most public and miraculous attestation of his divine mission, they not only refused to receive but absolutely avoided him.

The spirit of contradiction and enmity with which his labors were requited, betrayed itself from the commencement of his public ministry. After having given open evidence, throughout Judea, of the authority with which he was invested; he retired to "Nazareth where he was brought up."‡ In the performance of his religious duties in the synagogue, he here took an early occasion to recite the prophecy, which proclaimed the opening of the great and "accep-

* Is. liii. 3. † John, i. 10, 11. ‡ Luke, iv. 16.

table year of the Lord:"* and proceeded to apply the prediction to himself, in declaring, that "this day was that scripture fulfilled in their ears."† But as the first favourable impression, conveyed by his discourse, subsided into curiosity respecting its author; it was soon replaced by an invidious reflection on the meanness of his birth: "and they said, Is not this Joseph's son?"‡ As he candidly avowed the slender prospect of success which awaited his ministry, in an oblique allusion to the fruitless exertions of the greatest of the ancient prophets; they took summary measures, for terminating his course, in executing that judgment upon him, from which he merely escaped by a miracle. "And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath. And rose up, *and thrust him out of the city*, and led him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, *that they might cast him down headlong*. But he passing through the midst of them went his way."§

But a short interval had elapsed after this event, when he exhibited a sensible proof of miraculous power before five thousand, in feeding them preternaturally in the wilderness.‖ As the effect, however, was not answerable to their prepossessions in favor of a display of secular

* Luke, iv. 19. † Ibid. 21. ‡ Ibid. 22.
§ Ibid. 28, 29, 30. ‖ John, vi. 5—13.

greatness, it proved merely a cause of offence to their prejudice. "Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said this is of a truth *that prophet* that should come into the world," and "they would come and take him *by force* to make him *a king*." * But when he proposed himself for their acceptance, on his own terms; so far were they from receiving him, that they shunned his presence. On hearing him declare, that "he came down from heaven," † and "would ascend up where he was before;" ‡ "from that time, many of his disciples went back and *walked no more with him*." §

Nay to such an extent had this renunciation proceeded, that his appearance in his country was thenceforth attended with peril to his life; and in the feasts at Jerusalem, whither he was required to repair every year, he could not shew himself "openly, but as it were in secret:" ‖— "After these things Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Jewry, *because the Jews sought to kill him*." ¶ To this necessity he found himself reduced, as he declared, because "his time was not yet full come;" ** having reason to apprehend that premature violence, which in vainly seeking to anticipate the divine purposes, would have interfered with the ordinary course

John, vi. 14, 15. † Ibid. 38. ‡ Ibid. 62. § Ibid. 66.
‖ Ibid. vii. 2, 8, 10. ¶ Ibid. 1. ** Ibid. 8.

of providence, in requiring a miracle to defeat it. And with so unrelenting a spirit was this enmity pursued, that it followed him to the place of his retirement; in which he was seized, when betrayed by a disciple whom they had suborned, and dragged, as a culprit, before a criminal tribunal. In his last hours, when "before Pontius Pilate, he witnessed a good confession;" even while his judge pleaded for mercy,* "they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified."† At the last, having imprecated the guilt of his blood upon their own heads and the heads of their children;‡ by their clamor and violence they compelled the Roman governor, to condemn him to the horrors and ignominy of a public execution.

3. The prophet, in disclosing the marks by which the appearance of the true Messiah might be certainly known, further declares, that he would be reduced to a state of destitution. And from the hour of his nativity, in the very circumstances of his birth, indications were given of the melancholy truth of the prediction. The prospect of her delivery taking place in an inn, was sufficiently cheerless to a mother; but from the wretched accommodation, which it may be supposed to have afforded, the virgin mother was driven to seek the shelter supplied by a

* Luke, xxiii. 14, 20, 22, 23. † Ibid. 23. ‡ Matt. xxvii. 25.

stable. "She brought forth her *first born son*, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and *laid him in a manger*, because there was no room for them in the inn."* And the course and conclusion of his life corresponded with a commencement thus inauspicious.

In the description given by him of his condition, while employed in offices of mercy and benignity, he represents himself as not merely indigent but houseless; as reduced to a state of destitution, unknown to the beasts of the field. "Foxes," he declared, "have holes, and birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not *where to lay his head*."† For the last supper of which he took a part, for the very room in which he partook of it, he was indebted to the bounty of a casual acquaintance. Even for the last sad offices paid to his remains, for the place in which they were laid, he was dependent on the piety of a stranger; "one who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. This man went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in his own sepulchre."‡

It would be a waste of time to enter into any exposure of the vanity of those expectations of worldly pomp and power, the disappointment of which contributed so essentially to frustrate the

* Luke, ii. 7. † Ibid. ix. 58. ‡ Ibid. xxiii. 51, 52, 53.

influence and effect of our Lord's ministry. The false glare and inflated hollowness of the objects, on which those expectations were set, have in all ages exhibited them to the reflecting part of mankind, as baubles adapted only to excite the admiration of the childish and vulgar. In the evil passions and gross excesses, to which the frustration of hopes, that were at once irrational and degrading, gave an exercise, a subject presents itself, which is better suited to serious reflection. And, however mortifying the consideration, it may for a while detain our attention, as it serves to exhibit, under the heightened effect of a direct opposition, the immeasurable distance between the allwise counsels of God and the vain imaginations of man. In regarding the effect of the appeal, which was made, in the dispensation of grace and mercy, to the best feelings, the highest principles, of our nature; if the mind recoil at the picture of human depravity which it unfolds, it turns refreshed and strengthened to the portraiture of human perfection, which was displayed for its amendment and imitation. The comparison cannot be pursued for however short a time, without compelling us to infer, from the slight influence with which the highest and most efficient means were attended, the abortiveness of those expedients, to which human vanity would have resorted to obtain a similar result. In regarding the unnatural contest, which the appear-

ance upon earth of a being, so constituted and endowed, served only to provoke; we behold patience, on the one side, and persecution, on the other, struggling for the ascendancy. While no provocation could have justified the insult, odium and malevolence which were heaped on the common victim; in the divine personage, on whose sacred head they exhausted their utmost virulence, all conceivable perfection, which is attributable to our nature, was embodied. Had authority been competent to command outward homage, that with which he was invested must have claimed for him a reverence, not less profound, than the heavenly nature, with which the spirit of prophecy had declared, and the power of miracles proved, him to be endued. Even when exhibited in a human form, sanctity of manners and holiness of life are entitled to veneration; towards beings of a high and preternatural order we are inspired with feelings of awe and terror. Were one of celestial rank to light upon the earth; were a descending angel to pass through our borders; it is but reasonable to suppose, the vision would be received, by those who could endure the brightness of his presence, with sentiments allied to adoration. But he who descended among us, from above, "took not on him the nature of angels;"* but "was made so much

* Heb. ii. 16.

better than the angels, as he hath obtained a more excellent name than they:"* "being the brightness of God's glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power."† Although "in the form of God," and "equal with God, ... he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and humbled himself and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross."‡ Such, it is appalling even at this distance of time to reflect, was the being who was marked out as the object of public hatred and persecution. Such was the painful and ignominious death, to which he was subjected: even while he bore it, in remittance of the penalty incurred by its perpetrators, and implored forgiveness of the guilt, of which he was the victim. While we bend in silent submission to the will of him, in whose unsearchable counsels a sacrifice thus inestimable was required, for the satisfaction of his justice; it were criminal negligence to disregard the practical lesson which it inculcates. Had the guilt of this most unjust and merciless sentence been less enormous; we had wanted a proof of the depravity to which our nature may sink, and of the brightness of the pattern, according to which it should be reformed. In the means, vouchsafed through it, to influence our opinions and practice;

* Heb. i. 4. † Ibid. 3. ‡ Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8.

we had then acquired inferior motives for poignancy in repentance, and humility in obedience. In the atonement, which the sacrifice then offered up was efficacious in accomplishing, a higher purpose was achieved; the covenant being sealed and ratified, under it, whereby a lost world was redeemed from the curse of sin and death, to the blessing of immortality and glory.

III. Had there been no other proof of the true time of the advent of the Messiah; in this prophecy, so distinct in its revelation and exact in its accomplishment, it would have been established with demonstrative certainty. So extensive is the period by which it is measured, as computed at 483 years from the restoration of the Jewish polity under Ezra, and 570 years from the time in which it was delivered; that it places the chance of its anticipation, by accident or sagacity, beyond the verge of moral possibility. Nor can the force of this demonstration—by which alone the truth of our Holy Religion is established, and the controversy between the Jewish and the Christian Church on the identity of the Messiah decided—be invalidated by the only objection, by which scepticism can assail it. As the cavil may be still urged, that what was at first predicted, with slender hope of its occurrence, might have been ultimately brought to pass, by design or intention. If but a moment, however, be employed in considering

the complexity of the subject which was so expressly foretold, and accomplished at intervals so widely apart from each other, as to preclude the possibility of collusion; it will not be necessary to waste even that time, in exposing so extravagant an absurdity. If a doubt be admitted, as to the real character of the Divine Person, in whom it has been reduced to matter of fact, that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, whether by accident, intention, or design: the absence of all capability from the destitute state in which he appeared,—as the prophet had, with equal explicitness, likewise foretold,—is incompatible with the supposition, that he possessed the power or influence, necessary to success, in so extensive a scheme of imposture. Among the wise and providential reasons, that determined him in the choice of the state of humility, in which he appeared; we must include the insurmountable difficulties, with which it must have tended to embarrass the purpose of a designing but needy pretender. The absurdity that he can be for a moment confounded with such a character, will indeed appear not less monstrous than it is profane; when the project of such impostors is compared with the vast, the pure, and exalted object, which was proposed in the establishment and diffusion of Christianity, of the realization of which we are at this day witnesses.

When the mists of prejudice are removed which exhibit, to the eye of passion or error, all objects enlarged or distorted; they appear as they really are, in their natural form and dimensions. Even to our limited views and experience, when no false medium is interposed, the wisdom of the choice of our Lord, in preferring a state of abasement, according to what prophecy had disclosed, is sufficiently obvious. In a moral view the advantages, secured by it, need not a specific deduction. The example, which he held up for our imitation, was that alone which tended to rebuke the exalted in their pride, and to console the destitute in their misery. In a religious view, the choice of such a state by the Redeemer of mankind, is no less apparent. In removing all suspicion, that the great purpose which he came to effect, was indebted for its success, to human means; the inference was obvious and necessary, that to the divine agency alone it owed its accomplishment.

"Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For if the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward; How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was con-

firmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?"*

* Heb. ii 1, 2, 3, 4

# LECTURE X.

## DANIEL, IX. 27.

"And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week, he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease: and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

IN marking the progress of the illumination imparted by revelation, the analogy has been often traced between the manner of its diffusion, and the gradual dispersion of light in the heavens. Prophecy, which is revelation, bearing the evidence of inspiration impressed on it, seems in this view to have struck the Apostle, and to have suggested the fine image in which he so happily compares it to "the light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise,"* by which our steps are directed. In discharging this part, as addressed to our

* 2 Pet. i. 19

feeble senses, it was accommodated to the structure of organs, the sound exercise of which was as liable to be precluded by an overpowering splendor, as a palpable darkness. As it advanced in its clearness and certainty, with the progress of civilization and intelligence, it supplied a degree of evidence, fitted for the conviction of the times to which it was progressively addressed; in its feebleness, acquiring support from the easy credulity of the ruder ages, and in its strength overpowering the scepticism of the more refined and informed.

In no part of revelation, is the character, to which prophecy lays a claim, so signally maintained as that which solicits our present attention. The view which it opens into the future, is displayed with that distinct and steady light, which is adequate to the conviction of any age, however enlightened and inquiring. Of the revelations professing to be delivered from on high, none surpass it in the interest and importance of the event predicted. In the establishment of it alone, the great question on which the Jewish and Christian Churches are opposed, is decided; whether Jesus be "he that should come, or we are to look for another."* While it is of itself adequate to prove the inspiration of the prophet, and to establish the truth of

* Luke, vii. 19.

revelation, it is competent to dispel the doubt, in which the unassisted mind is perplexed, in its scrutiny into futurity; and to give to the hopes and consolations which religion alone can inspire, a stability not to be shaken.

The general outline of the prophecy was traced by me on a former occasion; and the different periods were defined, into which it is divided. The grounds of the triple division, adopted by the prophet, have been examined, and the object of the different revelations, which each section of it was intended to convey, has been explained in its order. In pursuing the subject, it will be at present only necessary to observe on the regularity with which the period of seventy septenaries is distributed. As it opens with the term of the *jubilee*, and closes with that of the *semitah*, or sabbatical period, and when regarded as a whole, comprises the remarkable term of ten of the former, and seventy of the latter cycle; in thus conforming to that division of time, which was of divine appointment, it bears internally those marks of a controlling providence, by which the future is not merely foreknown but predetermined. Suitably to this regular and tripartite distribution, the Jewish polity was modified, for the period of nearly five centuries, to which it extended; commencing with the restoration of "the sacrifice and oblation," on the rebuilding of the temple, and

ending with its cessation, on the sacrifice of "him who through the eternal Spirit offered himself to God for us," * who "once in the end of the dispensation, appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself," † and according to the prediction, of the prophet before us, "to bring in everlasting righteousness." ‡

To this great consummation the principal place is assigned in the prophecy of "the seventy weeks;" it is accordingly announced at the opening of the prediction. And on this account, it would appear, that it is less prominently advanced at the close of it, which demands our immediate attention. The last septenary of the seventy, which he proceeds to define and distribute, according to the principal events by which it would be distinguished; — in declaring, of "the people of the leader who should come," § that they "should strengthen the covenant with the multitude for one septenary, and in the midst of it, cause the oblation and sacrifice to cease." ‖

I. In fixing, on a former occasion, the close of the second, and of the third and last period of the prediction; the limits of the septenary, defined in the text, were necessarily determined. This period, it was accordingly shewn, extended to the seven years, which occurred between the

* Heb. ix. 14. † Ibid. 26. ‡ Dan. ix. 24.
§ Ibid. 26. ‖ Ibid. 27.

baptism and crucifixion of the promised Messiah; which were then proved to have respectively taken place, in the 27th and 34th years of the Christian era. The paramount circumstance, by which, as the prophet discloses, it would be distinguished, was "the strengthening of the Covenant with the multitude," while "in the midst of it the sacrifice and oblation should cease." And the opposition which is thus marked, and which we shall soon see, was precisely fulfilled, leaves us at no loss to decide, that the federal compact, to which the prediction specifically applies, is that "New and better Covenant, which was established upon better promises;"* the terms of which were proposed, and its ratification effected, within the seven years, which had been fixed with so much precision.

That of it alone, the prediction of the text can be understood, the entire tenor of the prophecy compels us to acknowledge. It directs our attention to that expected time, of which the prophets had severally foretold; which was "to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness."† This great consummation, they had disclosed with one voice, was not to be looked for under an old and waning, but a new and everlasting Covenant. "Behold the days come,

* Heb. x. 16. † Dan. ix. 24.

saith the Lord, when I will make a New Covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah... This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them; and their sins will I remember no more. Now where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin."* The allusion, therefore, of the prophet, in the text, admits not of dispute. In declaring, "that the oblation and sacrifice should cease," he places it beyond controversion, that he intended the accomplishment of the prediction should be sought, not in the old, but the new dispensation. The abolition of those rites was not more consistent with the spirit of the Christian Covenant; than it was incompatible with the nature of the Mosaical. For sacrifice was the federal rite, under which the obligations of the latter were formally contracted; "gather my saints together," as the royal prophet has stated the compact, "who have made a covenant with me *by sacrifice.*"† A palpable contradiction is therefore implied in the supposition, that this could be the Covenant which should be "confirmed and strengthened," when *the cessation* of "the oblation and sacrifice" was projected, by which their very existence was affected.

* Heb. x. 16. seq. comp. Jer. xxxi. 3. seq. † Ps. l. 5.

The Covenant to which the prophet alludes being so far determined; and the period of its confirmation defined, within the limits of the seven years, marked out by our Lord's baptism and crucifixion; no difficulty remains in proving, that within this period, which comprised the ministry of Christ, it was solemnly promulgated and ratified. The difference between the Testaments, mediated by Moses and Jesus, has been just noticed. The new was to consist of a law, which, as contradistinguished from the sacrificial and ritual observances of the old, was to be inculcated on the mind and impressed on the heart. By no characters does the Gospel dispensation, as contrasted with the Levitical appear to have been so plainly and permanently distinguished. To this purpose, the divine teacher, "who spake as never man spake,"* uniformly addressed himself. It was his unwearied endeavour to wean them, in practice, from a ceremonial and hypocritical service, and to elevate their thoughts to the worship of God, "in spirit and in truth."† He ever instructed them, that in his Father's sight "oblation and sacrifice" were of no avail; that the offering of the lips, where the heart was estranged, was vain and abominable. What God required from his votarists, he ever taught them, was justice, mercy and humility; and that

* John, vii. 46. † Ibid. iv. 23, 24.

he would hold them accountable, not merely for their words and works, but answerable, before his tribunal for their intentions and inclinations And the internal spiritual character, which the Covenant thus assumed, it preserved for the exact period which had been prescribed. As its promulgation commenced with the ministry of the Baptist, its ratification, directly followed up with its plenary administration, was accomplished in the sacrifice offered by the Redeemer. Within the limits of the seven years, which thus witnessed the dispensation of grace and truth,* under the Mediator of the New Covenant, previously to his assumption in glory; it is expressly comprised by those inspired persons, who wrote with no view to the verification of the prediction in which it had been defined; but merely to transmit a plain unembellished narrative of what they had heard and seen: as the appointed "witnesses of all things which he did, both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem."† The exact time, from whence its commencement was to be dated, is thus expressly fixed by them, in recording his declarations;—that "the law and the prophets were until John, since that time the kingdom of God was preached and all men pressed into it."‡ As they have equally fixed the time, in relating the circumstances, of its

* John, i. 17. † Acts, x. 39. ‡ Luke, xvi. 16.

close, while they assure us, on the same authority, that " this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."*

II. It seems to have alone consisted with the divine intentions, in accomplishing the great purpose, which was thus limited in the time of its occurrence; that it should be effected in the ordinary course of divine providence. For this purpose, it became expedient, that instruments should be employed in its accomplishment, to whom, it would seem to our short-sighted views, it might be least safely entrusted. The prejudices of the Jews to the valueless part of the old Covenant, the abolition of which was now decreed, had become so deeply seated, that the strong arm of authority was, in the first place, necessary to withdraw the motives of their attachment; and, in the last, when the measure of their transgression was filled up, to preclude the possibility of their recurrence. So deeply had the root spread its ramifications, that to prevent its reproduction, it became necessary to extirpate the last fibre. In furtherance of these objects, as it was mercifully contrived, that, at

* Heb. x. 12, 13, 14.

the former time, the sacrificial service should be awhile suspended; it was justly determined, that, at the latter, it should be for ever abolished, and the temple which was necessary to its celebration should be reduced to a ruin. These circumstances, as among the most portentous of those which the prophet revealed, he sums up with unusual force of conception and diction, at the close of the prophecy—"and *in the midst* of the week, they shall cause the oblation and sacrifice to cease: and for the overspreading of abominations, shall make it desolate until the consummation, and that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate."*

If the concluding terms of the prediction left us any ground of doubt, as to the identity of the persons, by whom this consummation was to be effected; the context, as formerly explained, would place the matter beyond controversion. By an extraordinary disposition of divine providence, it was contrived, that the part of carrying it into effect should be committed to the Romans. As it was expedient and becoming, that the penalty which Christ was contented to suffer, should not be incurred, for the imputed violation of the divine law; it became necessary, as the prophets had clearly revealed, that it should be inflicted by aliens from the Covenant of Israel, and ac-

* Dan. ix. 27.

cording to the forms of their judicial proceedings. Of the nation, who were the instruments of providence, in carrying this dread purpose into execution; the prophet must be consequently understood as speaking, in the opening words of the text; "they shall strengthen the Covenant with the multitude for one septenary, and in the midst of it cause the oblation and the sacrifice to cease."*

On a collation of sacred with profane history, thus far it appears the prediction was fulfilled to the letter. By an extraordinary concession of the dominant power, to the will of the populace, the promulgation of the Covenant of which Christ was the Mediator was not merely promoted, but its ratification finally effected. And precisely in the middle of the septenary which bounded his ministry, by an arbitrary exercise of their authority, they took those measures which "caused the oblation and the sacrifice to cease."

1. In reviewing, however cursorily, the narrative of our Lord's ministry, it seems impossible to overlook the striking contrast which appears in the reception with which his labours were greeted, by the body of the people, and by their rulers: until the doubtful moment of trial, when they entered into as sudden as unexpected a coalition to effect his destruction. Though the

* Dan. ix. 27.

paths which they respectively pursued took a different course, they had a common termination; which could not fail to be reached by those, who moved in the same direction, and were urged by a common impulse. It appears, from the whole tenor of the sacred record of his life, that the hierarchy were, from first to last, opposed to his projects; that he had nothing to expect from their influence or authority, but the most uncompromising hostility. When the fame of his miracles, by which the people alone were moved, had rendered it expedient, for the maintenance of their authority, that he should be taken off; they were alone prevented from carrying the criminal purpose into execution by "fear of the multitude." The necessity is therefore apparent, that the legal authority, which armed them with force to effect it, should have been suspended. The law gave them power of life and death, and the event proves, but too lamentably, their disposition to enforce it in its utmost rigor. Had the Sanhedrim continued in the uninterrupted exercise of their jurisdiction, the author of the new dispensation must have fallen a victim to it, when the success of his ministry had rendered him obnoxious. Of the thirty-six cases, in which they possessed the power of awarding capital punishment, two were strained, at the last, to bring him within the reach of its penal inflictions. When they caused him to be betrayed,

seized and brought before them, they conceived the project of convicting him, as a false prophet and blasphemer; on substantiating either of which charges, he would have been subject to the alternative of being stoned or strangled. Having failed in the first experiment, through the contradiction of the witnesses, suborned to convict him; they betook themselves to the more certain expedient, which they held in reserve, and accordingly condemned him, on his own confession. But in appealing to the Roman governor, for the confirmation and execution of their sentence; they did it with the acknowledgment, that their power had been withdrawn: "it is not lawful for us," they admitted, "to put any man to death."* The shadow of authority which they had been allowed to retain, and in the exercise of which they had brought their victim under their judicial sentence, was too feeble and limited, to obstruct the progress of the Gospel. It extended not beyond the right of awarding the punishment of scourging. But the enforcement of this sentence, the painfulness of which chiefly consists in the degradation to which it subjects the sufferer, would have contributed little to impede its advancement. From the frequency of this punishment, and the rank of the offenders on whom it was visited, it had

* John, xviii. 31.

long ceased to be accounted disgraceful. The High Priest himself was amenable to it; but having suffered the temporary inconvenience in his person, and satisfied the offended majesty of the law; he was at once reinstated in the dignity of his office, and became competent to discharge its most sacred functions. It is therefore little wonderful, that when the Roman governor, urged by the importunate clamor of his accusers, had proposed the infliction of this sentence with a view to silence their turbulence, "I will chastise him and release him;"* the proposition was with one voice rejected, as inadequate to compass the object at which they covertly aimed, and which could be alone secured by the destruction of their victim.

To restrain a spirit thus malignant and violent, and to prevent the disorder which it was calculated to introduce into the ordinary course of events, by which it pleased God to accomplish his purposes; it was thus obviously necessary, that the supreme authority should be confided to hands, of power adequate to its maintenance and preservation. And in the choice of the Roman governor to whom it was committed, not less than in the time when he was deputed to exercise it, we may almost discern the finger of God in operation. The province of

* Luke, xxiii. 16.

Judea, in being conferred upon Pilate, was committed to a governor, of a character unusually stern and inflexible, even in a Roman soldier. On the immediate occasion of his promotion to this dignity, it was raised from a procuratorship to a vice-presidency; by which he became invested with absolute power, as the representative of the emperor. By a governor of a character thus determined, and of powers thus unlimited, it was thus effected, that the authority of the Jewish Sanhedrim should be superseded. In the character of his administration, the fitness of his appointment for the great object of which he was chosen to be the instrument is equally apparent. It is indeed obvious, from many of his acts, that he was not less disposed, to hold in contempt the national worship, than to regard the new religion with lenity and favor. Thus much might be collected from the indignity offered by him to the religious prejudices of the Jews, on his entrance on his government; no less than from the office which he took upon himself, in becoming the intercessor for Christ, on whom he passed a tardy and reluctant sentence. In his first entrance into his province, he testified his disrespect for the hierarchy, in whose hands the civil and ecclesiastical authority was lodged, by introducing the images of Tiberius, within the forbidden precincts of the Holy City. Nor were their remonstrances against

ministry, though transient, was beyond all precedent great and rapid. As the sear leaf and sapless branch are readily inflamed; it burst suddenly forth, and kindled but to expire. When indeed we consider the influence of the marvellous on the popular mind, and estimate the power with which he was invested, and of which he gave open and repeated proofs; the only wonder would be, had the impression made by his miracles appeared less than it really proved. It is little surprising, therefore, to find him, at the very commencement of his public ministry, in the first of the four passovers within which it is included, enter the temple with authority, and purify it by the expulsion of those who polluted it by their profane traffic.* As little wonderful is it, to find him preceded, in his public entry into Jerusalem, with the acclamations of the multitude, who strewed his path with flowers and palm branches, and shouted hosannahs to the king of Israel, the son and successor of David.†

3. The commencement of this eventful period to the human race, as computed from the first passover which distinguished the public ministry of Christ, the prophet had likewise foreshewn, was to be marked by an innovation in the public worship, which would occasion its temporary

* Matt. xxi. 12, 13. † Ibid. 9.

suspension, preparatory to its utter suppression. Among "the signs of the times" by which the crisis would be signalised, he consequently led them to expect, that "the oblation and the sacrifice should" not merely "cease," but "in *the midst* of the last week" of the seventy.

If due weight be annexed to the verification of this circumstantial prediction, it must be surely regarded as no less important than interesting, that among the scanty accounts which have been transmitted of the oppressive exactions of Pilate, the fact should remain on record, that he seized upon the corban, which was reposited in the treasury of the temple. As this fund was partly appropriated to the repair and erection of public works, a color of justice was given by him to the sacrilege; as he employed it in the construction of an aqueduct for the use of the city. As no other provision, however, was made, for the supply of victims, for the temple; in being thus diverted from its proper object, "the oblation and sacrifice" must have necessarily "ceased," when the means provided for its continuance were diverted in a different channel. And as the work, on which they were expended, required much time and labor for its completion, the daily service, to a proportionable degree, must have been suspended.

Of the precise time of this event, no inconclusive evidence remains, in the account, which

has been transmitted of the removal of the Sanhedrim, from the usual place of their assembling in the temple; for to render their decisions legal, it was necessary that they should be delivered in the stone-chamber of that building. The date of this secession, to which they were driven by the insults and oppression of the Romans, is fixed by the Talmudists, just forty years before the destruction of the temple. The computation is thus easily made, that it occurred precisely at the crisis, when the prophet foretold, the public worship would be interrupted, of which they were ordinaries and directors. For, as we know the temple was destroyed in the seventieth year of the Christian era; on deducting from that epoch, the forty years preceding it, from whence the Sanhedrim dated their secession; the remainder gives the thirtieth year of our vulgar computation, as the time when they abdicated their authority. As the last week of the seventy, in which our Lord's ministry was comprised, extended from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-fourth year; the thirtieth, in dividing that period, marks with critical precision "the midst of the week," and to a degree of accuracy almost surpassing belief, verifies the prediction.

As identifying with this event the cessation of "the oblation and sacrifice," one other circumstance is deserving of observation. Among the circumstances with which it is declared to

have been attended, the traditionists who have preserved the date, have recorded, that the lots which were cast for the victims did not from that time ascend into the hand of the priest, nor did the wool, which was dipped in their blood, bleach on the doors of the temple. In this extraordinary concession, the fact is formally avowed, that from the predicted time, "the oblation and sacrifice" had not only "ceased," but the great sacrifice of the atonement was relinquished; which was soon to be replaced, by the immolation of one, who "through the eternal spirit, offered himself without spot to God."* For, the lots to which the tradition alludes, were those cast upon the victims sacrificed upon that great day; one of which was slain as a sin-offering for the people; and one sent as a scape-goat, with imprecations into the wilderness. Should this extraordinary confession of the Talmudists be understood, as applicable merely to the particular year, of which they have so exactly fixed the date, with reference to the abdication of the national council; it would be of itself adequate, even in this limited view, to the establishment of the prediction. The time for which they absented themselves from that place, where alone their decisions acquired legal effect, proves, on the

* Heb. ix. 14.

contrary, that when understood in a sense thus restricted, it is opposed to positive matter of fact. For during their secession, the High Priest was incapacitated for discharging the duties of his function, in that solemn atoning ceremony, which was soon to be superseded by the great sacrifice of human redemption. And to the same conclusion we are equally led, by another instance of petty tyranny recorded of Pilate; who took possession of the pontifical robes, without which the performance of that service was accounted profane or illegal. With what other view he could have descended to this pitiful act of oppression, but to prevent its celebration, cannot be easily conceived; as the offering of the atonement was the only part of the Jewish ritual, which the sovereign Pontiff was prohibited from performing, in his ordinary habiliments.

No slight confirmation might be deduced, in corroboration of the same conclusion, from the evangelists; who are not merely silent, on the subject of our Lord's attendance, at Jerusalem, during his public ministry, at the great festivals; but have on one occasion, expressed a doubt, whether he would repair thither at " the feast of Tabernacles."* The obligation to this religious observance, was made imperative, by the Jewish

* John, vii. 8, 9.

ritual, on all competent persons; and he who declared, that "no jot or tittle of the law should fail, till all was fulfilled,"* was scrupulous in submitting to its most rigid exactions. As it is recorded of his parents, that they never omitted the performance of this duty;† that any doubt should have existed, as to the part he would take, is alone explicable, on an assumption of the truth of the preceding observations. For if any irregularity or disorder had arisen in the prescribed form of worship, his participation in it was so far from being justifiable, that it was proscribed as illegal. Nor in viewing the subject, in reference to the cessation of "the oblation and sacrifice," ought it to be overlooked, that the Passover was observed under peculiar restrictions. The victims, which were sacrificed in that festival, were supplied from the private resources of the individuals who engaged in it. Though, through the appropriation of the corban to a different object, the daily "oblation and sacrifice" must have ceased, which was offered at morning and evening; and though, from the secession of the Sanhedrim, the ceremonies were impracticable which were necessary to the due performance of the sacrifice of the atonement; it does not appear, nor is it indeed probable, that the private offerings of individuals were prohibited

* Matt. v. 18. † Luke, ii. 41.

or precluded, or that they should be included in the spirit or letter of the prediction.

4. In passing from the consideration of the middle to the close of the last week, we proceed, in order, from the view of the promulgation of the New Covenant, to that of its formal ratification. In this dread mystery, in which an incensed God was propitiated, and man's redemption, from the curse of sin and death, was accomplished, it assumed the character of a Testament, in being solemnly sealed in the blood of the Testator. "For where a testament is," as the apostle concludes, "there must of necessity be the death of the Testator . . . Whereupon neither the first Testament was dedicated without blood. For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people, according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book and the people, saying, this is the blood of the Testament which God hath enjoined unto you . . . and almost all things are by the law purged in blood; and without shedding of blood there is no remission . . . So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many: and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin unto salvation."* Such, in the language of inspiration, was the proper end of "the oblation

* Heb. ix. 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 28.

and sacrifice," the ultimate object and consummation of the old Covenant. And, as the prophet had revealed, thus its full confirmation and establishment was brought about, by a combination between the nation who would pour desolation upon Jerusalem, and the multitude who had been not merely witnesses but favorers of its progress; who thus conspired in advancing the determinate counsel of God, while they acted in dereliction alike of the principles of justice and positive law, and in violation of natural feeling.

What renders this coalition between the Roman nation and Jewish populace,—which appears to have been as unnatural as it was sudden and unexpected,—the more extraordinary, is the consideration, that the sympathies of the conspiring parties, without whose concurrence the project of taking him off would have proved abortive, accompanied the victim of the general enmity within a short time of his immolation. We have already had occasion to observe the intercession of the Roman governor, in his behalf; and have remarked on the enthusiasm with which the populace hailed him on his public entry into Jerusalem. The deep and general sensation produced by his ministry, on the people, afforded him a temporary protection. From the seed which he had sown, and which struck so sudden a root, a hedge of shelter and security had grown up, between him and destruction, to which for a long

period he had been devoted. " When the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh which is called the Passover, the Chief Priests and scribes sought how they might kill him, for *they feared the people.*"* In recounting the act of treachery to which they had suborned and bribed one of his adherents, it is declared, that, " he promised and sought opportunity to betray him unto them, in the absence of *the multitude.*"†

But in their conduct, however inconsistent in itself, no paradox remains for our solution. It required no miraculous interposition to effect a revolution, so sudden and great, in their sentiments and conduct. It was merely necessary to exhibit the idol of the popular smiles and sunshine, under the cheerless influence of a reverse of fortune. That a common cause would be necessarily followed by a common effect, the cabal who had secretly resolved on his destruction were not unconscious. When the tide of popular favor sank to the lowest ebb, the course which they had to pursue was as secure as it was obvious. They accordingly led him forth as a malefactor and prisoner, and drew from him the confession, so withering to all mortal hope and mortal ambition, that " his kingdom is not of this world."‡ Having thus exhibited him, mocked, insulted, and set at nought, by the men

* Luke, xxii. 1. † Ibid. 6. ‡ John, xviii. 36.

of war; in the disappointment of their vain expectations their still vainer attachment was at once dissipated. And the same people, who not long previously had followed the future monarch, with shouts of triumph, were entrapped by this trite and shallow policy, to cry out for his execution. "The *whole multitude*," as the inspired narrator observes, "arose and led him to Pilate," and on hearing his defence, "were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices *of them* and of *the Chief Priests* prevailed, and Pilate gave sentence, that it should be as they required."*

No direct allusion is made by the prophet, to the great mystery, which the execution of this unjust and merciless sentence was destined to accomplish. It appears to have excited no observation from him, beyond the intimation conveyed in the opening of the prediction; that in the divine counsels, a time was "determined, to finish the transgression, to make an end of sin, and to bring in everlasting righteousness."† Whatever be the sense, in which the prophecy, declaring the cessation of "the oblation and sacrifice," is understood, it appears to be overlooked or omitted; whether we suppose it to predict their *suspension*, previously to the sacrifice of the cross; or to announce their *abrogation*, on

* Luke, xxiii. 23, 24. † Dan. ix. 24.

the substitution of the real and everlasting for the ceremonial and temporary offering. In the latter view, the allusion to it appears to be not more direct than in the antecedent. And the silence, in which it thus appears to be passed over, seems alone consistent with the gradual method in which revelation was unfolded; the higher doctrines of which are represented, as involved in "mystery hid from ages and generations;" * as the secret purpose of God, into which "the angels desired to look," † to whom Daniel applied for information.

The concluding description of the prediction may, indeed, be supposed to allude to the terrors in which the last melancholy scene of our redemption, made by a suffering Saviour, was involved. From "the overspreading abomination" by which, it more than intimates, the divine vengeance was provoked, we cannot exclude the aggravated guilt of those, who "delivered him up, and denied him in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let him go," who "denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto them: and killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead." ‡ In this delinquency the cause must be sought, of those visitations on the city, that were to "make it desolate," when retributive

* Col. i. 26. † 1 Pet. i. 12. ‡ Acts, iii. 13, 14, 15.

wrath would "be poured on the desolate." And to a just sense of its enormity the imagination may rise, in turning to the picture, which the evangelists have drawn, without studied effect or heightened coloring; in which they have depicted all nature as sympathising with its expiring author, the earth being shaken to its base, while darkness shrouded the face of heaven.

But of the end and object of the sad spectacle, of which heaven and earth were then the witnesses, but a feeble conception could be then formed. "The Law having but a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things:"*—the connexion between the evanescent and effectual rite was not perceptible, before "the one offering, which hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."† The intimations which it conveyed, like the revelations of prophecy, were indirect and remote. It was indeed perceived, according to what the old dispensation not only conveyed to the mind, but exhibited to the senses, that "into the second tabernacle went the High Priest alone once every year, not without blood which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people. The Holy Ghost thus signifying, that the way into the holiest *was not yet made manifest;*"‡—namely, "the *second veil*, the tabernacle which is called the

* Heb. x. 1. † Ibid. 14. ‡ Ibid. ix. 7, 8.

Holy of Holies."* But in the triumphs achieved "in the ninth hour, when there was darkness over the whole land;"† a sensible proof was given, that the barrier to our entrance was removed. In that agonizing moment to the immaculate victim, in which the last struggles of nature ceased; when "the earth did quake, and the rocks rent, and the graves were opened,"‡ as "he cried with a loud voice and yielded up the ghost, behold *the veil* of the temple *was rent* from the top to the bottom."‖ Encouragement was thus first given, that the interdicted sanctuary was laid open to the sanctified: that "having boldness to enter into the holiest through the blood of Jesus, through a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, that is to say, through *the veil of his flesh*, and having a High Priest over the house of God, we might draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith."§

III. From the revelation of the events comprised in the last septenary, the prophet passes by a transition, as natural as direct, to the destiny of the Holy City. As he had commenced, in his predictions, from the decree issued for its restoration; to complete its history, which he variously details, he closes them, with the appalling account of its destruction. That so much

* Heb. ix. 3. † Matt. xxvii. 45. ‡ Ibid. 51, 52.
‖ Ibid. 50, 51. § Heb. x. 19—22.

of the prophecy must be understood of that catastrophe, we have the authority of Christ himself for concluding.* In allusion to its profanation and ruin by Titus, it was in the last place, accordingly revealed to Daniel; that "on the outworks or battlements, should be the abomination of desolation; and unto the consummation and end, it should be poured on the desolate,"† or astonished.

On the fact and justice of this retribution upon the people, who, while engaged in an act of the most unprovoked and cruel oppression, imprecated the divine vengeance on their own heads, and the heads of their children, it cannot be necessary to enlarge. To the depravity, to which they were abandoned beyond the hope of reclaiming, the historian, who has described the fate of the city and destruction of the temple, does not scruple to impute their extirpation. So effectually was the divine purpose carried into execution, that while the temple was in flames, on the very altar consecrated to the God of Hosts, "the abomination" of a pagan sacrifice was offered, to the Olympian Jupiter, in gratitude for its downfal. And the command of the Roman general, that the city should be forthwith razed to the ground, was so fully carried into effect; that those who visited its site, on viewing the

* Matt. xxiv. 15. Luke, xxi. 20. † Dan. ix. 27.

scene "of desolation" which spread around them, were induced to doubt, whether it could have ever existed.

It cannot be necessary any further to discuss the appositeness of the circumstances, selected by the prophet, as the subject of the prediction; such having been chosen by him, as particularly conduced to the advancement of the new religion, of which he foretells the promulgation. In insisting on the cessation of the "oblation and sacrifice," the limit is marked between the old and the new covenant; the waning moon of the shadowy dispensation having declined before "the bright morning star," which rose upon a renovated world. In the declaration of this change a suitable introduction was found to the disclosure of the fate reserved for the temple; in the ruins of which the religious rites and civil polity of Judaism were buried together.

In illustration of the prediction, on which I have so long dwelt, much might be added, on the subject of the sabbatical and other cycles; on which the computation of the different dates depends, that have been fixed in the course of the discussion. Occasion has already occurred to remark on the number and order of the septenaries by which the prophet computes, and their connexion with the sabbatical years; the succession of which was so ordered, that the seven years of our Lord's ministry were com-

mensurate with one of those periods, and the crucifixion took place in a year that was sabbatical.

It may be cursorily observed, in pursuance of the same curious subject, that *the epoch* of the great paschal cycle,—by which the time of the last passover was determined, in which the great sacrifice of our redemption occurred,—is deducible, in common with the seventy weeks of Daniel, from the date of the return from the captivity under Ezra. The coincidence brings the force of demonstration to the method which has been followed, in the computation of the prophetical period. It is not possible to conceive a principle, which will account for the parallelism,—thus observed between different series of years that spring from a remarkable epoch,—in a manner equally clear and satisfactory, as that in which it is supposed to have originated at that early period. It was equally natural, that, in fixing the duration of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews, the computation should be made from the year of its re-establishment under Ezra; as that in instituting a calendar, by which the order of the festivals, observed on their restoration, was determined, its commencement should be computed, from the same epoch. To this inference we are alike led under the contrary supposition, that the paschal cycle, by which the lapse of time was measured, was invented by that

learned priest and scribe; or that it was grafted, in a more advanced state of science, upon one of ruder contrivance, which he had appointed. That the great cycle, by which it is certain the order of the Jewish festivals was regulated, should be found, when traced to its source to have its epoch coincident with that of the restoration from Babylon, involves no inconclusive evidence that such was the date of its institution. It was agreeable to the practice of antiquity to deduce remarkable eras only from great civil revolutions. As a coincidence thus extraordinary meets in the remarkable year of Ezra's return; the inference appears to be conclusive, that it can be as little imputed to an accidental concurrence, as to recent and arbitrary contrivance: and may be consequently referred to him as its author.

Nor are the coincidences less curious, which might be traced, between the same epoch, and the institution of a new era by Herod on the capture of the temple; and the dedication of a temple to Peace by Vespasian, at the close of the great paschal cycle; of each of whom it is remarkable, that he assumed the character, and usurped the honors, of the promised Messiah.

But the elucidation of these points would little consist with my present time and limits. And the great purpose which I have in view would probably lose, by the prosecution of inquiries which are rather curious than impressive. I in-

deed feel myself exonerated, from going at greater length, into the subject, as the inferences to which it leads may be safely left in the hands of my present hearers. The application which it receives from the apostle is, indeed, so just and forcible, that in bringing it to a close, I cannot take my leave of it more suitably, than in his inspired language. "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh; and having a High Priest over the house of God;... Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; (for he is faithful that promised)... He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses... Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the spirit of grace?" *

* Heb. x. 19, 20, 21, 23, 28, 29.

# LECTURE XI.

## REV. xiii. 5.

"And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months."

WHEN Prophecy is recognised as the means appointed for forming and confirming our faith; the wisdom of committing the record of it, on the one hand, and of consigning the proof of it, on the other, to Churches, as opposed in principle as the Jewish and Christian, will be readily acknowledged. The objection was thus at an end, that the coincidence, on which the verification of the prediction depends, could be the effect of collusion. The enmity existing between those, who were on the one side the witnesses and keepers of the sacred oracles, and were on the other the objects and instruments of their accomplishment, removes all suspicion, that the document could have been accommodated to the event by fraud or sophistry. Its authenticity

and integrity proving thus unimpeachable, the only question which remained for decision would then arise, on the reality of the facts intimated in the prediction, or their identity with the events which were foreshewn.

They who affect to be moved, by the force of an objection with which we are frequently pressed, on the declining authority of a document that has undergone frequent transcription, will duly appreciate the value of this argument, which, it will not be reasonably denied, is adequate to its removal. By the enmity, with which two parties, opposed like the Jewish and Christian communities, were influenced towards each other; the supposition is reduced to an absurdity, that, to serve the sinister purposes of either, the prophecy could have been sophisticated, in the course of its transmission. This reasoning might be extended, to establish the authenticity of the document; the integrity of which appears thus capable of vindication. In the certainty of its accomplishment, which is matter equally susceptible of proof, the impossibility is not less clearly implied, that it could have been originally fabricated. To suppose the contrary would be to confound the boundary between chance and certainty; or ascribe to human foresight a knowledge of future and contingent events, which was contradicted by human experience.

It was ordained, with great fitness and wisdom, that the prophecies which demonstrated the advent of the Messiah should be composed and preserved by the Hebrews. But on the rejection of the divine person in whom they were fulfilled, it was not less wisely and fitly determined, that the future destiny of the Church, which he founded, should be revealed through those who received him, and embraced his religion.

This province was consigned to St. John who was not less distinguished with the exalted title of "the beloved apostle," than Daniel with that of "the beloved prophet." Among the followers of our Lord, of whom primitive tradition preserves an account, not one appears, of whom so much is known, or around whose character it has shed a light so engaging and interesting. He was chosen to the apostolate from the humblest walks in life, having been the son of Zebedee, a Galilean fisherman. Though he had a brother, named James, joined with him in the ministry, it appears that he particularly attached himself to Peter. What distinguishes him, however, not only above these apostles, but the whole sacred college, was the partiality of his divine master; who not only admitted him to be his companion in the more extraordinary events of his ministry, but bestowed on him signal marks of his affection. To this distinction he owed the privilege of obtain-

ing a place among the few, who were chosen to witness the transfiguration on the mount, and the passion in the garden. At the last supper, he was admitted by him to that familiarity, that he occupied the seat nearest him, and was allowed to repose his head upon his bosom. In his Lord's last moments, when deserted by his disciples, his solicitude attracted him to the sad spectacle of the crucifixion: where he received his dying injunctions respecting his disconsolate mother, and witnessed the last cruel indignity which was offered to his person.

It appears from historical record, that he fixed his abode at Ephesus, where he assumed the government of the seven churches of Asia, until his banishment into the island of Patmos. While the part was committed to the other evangelists to record the ministry of Christ, as the Son of Man; for him the more exalted province was reserved to disclose his nature, as the Son of God; and to record the office of the Spirit of Truth and Holiness, who would descend at his intercession, and to whose special providence he committed the guidance of his Church, until his second advent in glory.

During his banishment in Patmos, he received the revelation, from whence the text is extracted; when he had arrived at a period of life not less advanced than Daniel was formerly observed to have attained, in delivering a similar

prediction. In the vision which he obtained of the divine glory, the destinies of the Church were unfolded, in the form of a sacred drama, the shifting scenes and successive characters of which passed in review before him. As his predictions and those of his inspired predecessor extend to the consummation of all things; it necessarily follows, from their describing the leading events of which the earth was destined to be the theatre; that they should coincide in selecting the more prominent objects. Such in an eminent degree, is the prediction contained in the text; in which a period common to Daniel and St. John is not only defined, but in nearly identical terms.

That the subject of the Christian prophet, in the text, is identical with that of the Jewish, as illustrated on a former occasion, is allowed by the concurrent voice of commentators and expositors. From a collation of several parallel passages of "the Apocalypse," it has been justly inferred, that the period expressed in the text, is equivalent to that of "a time, times and a half,"* as computed by Daniel. The latter period was formerly shewn to amount, in the literal sense, to three years and a half; and is variously expressed by St. John under the term of "forty and two months"† and "a thousand two hundred and threescore days."‡ On apply-

* Dan. xii. 7. † Rev. xi. 2. xiii. 5. ‡ Ibid. xi. 3. xii. 6.

ing the prophetical rule by which days are put for years, the proper force of the expression in the text is necessarily ascertained to signify 1260 years, in the recondite sense. The conformity between the two prophets consequently becomes, in this view, fully established.

But it is further deserving of remark, that this conformity not only extends to the length of the predicted term, as computed at 1260 years, but to the mode of disposing it; the commencement, and consequently the close of it, being precisely coincident, according to the predictions of both prophets, although computed by them from different epochs.

That the common term of 1260 years, as computed by Daniel, extends to the great consummation of all things, was shewn by me on a former occasion. By the angel who was commissioned to give him an insight into the future, the prospect is represented as extending to the resurrection, "when many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."* In answer to a question, which arises between two angels, who are represented as overheard by the prophet, in his vision, as to the time which should intervene "to the end of these wonders;"† the respective terms of 1335

* Dan. xii. 2. † Ibid. 6.

and 1260 years are mentioned, which it was formerly my object to shew are consecutive, and to be computed from the desolation of Jerusalem by the Chaldees, which was followed by the deportation to Babylon under Jehoiachin. From this date, it was natural that Daniel should compute, as it was recognised as an epoch, at the time when he wrote; from which the Jews were accustomed to reckon the course of time in the captivity.

I. The subject of Daniel, as has been already intimated, is taken up by St. John. After the example of the Jewish prophet, the Christian distributes the course of time into two periods; the first of which consists of 666 years, and the latter of 1260; which has been already noticed, as that defined in the text, and identified in the prediction of Daniel. And of these periods, it is no less remarkable, that they must be understood as consecutive; and computed from the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; of which the Christian prophet had been witness, and from which it was not less natural that he should compute, than his inspired predecessor.

As far, therefore, as the consideration of the predictions before us extends, the parallel appears to be preserved, in all essential points between these prophets. By no greater dissimilarity is their manner distinguished, than characterises artists of the same school, whose works,

if not cast in the same mould, are shaped after the same model. The accidental difference alone exists between their prophecies, that each of them is computed from that desolation of his native city, which had occurred when he flourished. In this respect, their practice coincides with that of the eastern nations, who were accustomed to deduce the eras, by which they marked the progress of time, from remarkable revolutions. How far the custom corresponded with the views and practice of the Jews may be collected from their adoption of the era of the Seleucidæ; which dated its epoch from the recovery of Babylon, by the Syro-Macedonian dynasty, after which it was termed. But previously to the revolutions, in which the supremacy was transferred from the empire that held its seat in that capital; the custom had obtained among the Jews, as particularly appears from the instance of the prophets. For it admits not of dispute, that the dates which Ezekiel records with so much precision are reckoned from the deportation under Jehoiachin, in which we have recognised the proper epoch of the first of the two periods determined by Daniel. And in conformity with the same principle, that of the seventy weeks by the same prophet appears to have been selected; as it is deduced from the restoration of his countrymen under Ezra, which was naturally regarded as a new era. In the difficulties which

have been encountered, in ascertaining the commencement of the prophecies, properly chronological, these considerations cannot be deemed light; as conformable to the principles, and recognised in the practice of the Jews and other Eastern nations.

In tracing the parallel between Daniel and St. John, it must be however acknowledged, that in supposing the different periods of 1335 and 666 years, interposed by them; between that desolation of Jerusalem which they respectively witnessed, and the commencement of the 1260 years, which is the proper subject of their predictions, it has been assumed, that in those numbers, a term of years is properly expressed. For it cannot be dissembled, an opinion has prevailed, from the earliest age of the Christian church, that of the two numbers, elicited from the Apocalypse, the former merely conveys, in a cabbalistic or anagrammatical device, the name or title of the profane power; of which, it is generally agreed, the latter determines the duration. By this subtle trifling, into the nature of which it would be beside my present purpose to enter, the attempt has been made to identify several names, the letters of which have a numerical force, amounting to the number 666, defined by the prophet.

On taking a closer view of the text, with reference to the context, this notion will not appear

deserving of much attention. "Here is wisdom," observes the Evangelist, "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six."* It is difficult to conceive, that the Apostle, in declaring that wisdom was required to interpret his meaning, should leave it to be decyphered by a puerility, which was alike unauthorised by the practice, and unsuitable to the gravity, of an inspired writer. A distinction is, however, marked in the phraseology of the Apostle, between the passage of the text—"the number of *a man*" and that of the context, "the number of *a name*;"† by which the views of those interpreters, who conceive the subject involved by the Apostle in cabbalistic obscurity, are fundamentally subverted. In the latter phrase, it may be readily conceded, a name of mystical import is implied; on the probability of this assumption, and under an erroneous impression that the phrases are equivalent, the sense which is forced on the Evangelist's words appears to be founded. With such a sense, his meaning appears, on the contrary, to be contrasted; "the number of *a man*" being, consequently, used by him to express a proper number. In such a sense, the phrase is not only used by himself, but appears to be plainly employed by

* Rev. xiii. 18. † Ibid. 17.

the prophets, Isaiah and Hosea. Such is admitted to be its genuine force by his commentators, who adopt that view of the passage, which is incompatible with the concession. They consequently explain it, as that which *men* commonly use, and which they easily discover. It is difficult to conceive in what terms, they could have better described that plain view, which we have taken of it, and which is alone consistent with the dignity of the subject; or could have more expressly denounced the mystical significance, which is sought in it, and which the initiated alone were competent to decypher. And were not the precise meaning of each of the phrases before us, thus clearly deducible from the force of the terms; the Evangelist would have rendered it palpable, by the sentence which he passes, on the knowledge of their meaning, however understood or decyphered. To be acquainted with the one, he pronounces the mark of wisdom;* to be versed in the other, he declares to be the test of initiation in the mystery of iniquity.† By possessing the one, the adherents of Antichrist could make themselves known to their associates; by knowing the other, his adversaries might ascertain the nature and time of his usurpation.

The similarity between the Jewish and Chris-

* Rev. xiii. 18. † Ibid. 17.

tian prophet being thus far established; when due allowance is made for the accidental difference of their computing from the visitations executed on Jerusalem in their times: the period of 1260 years, as intimated by the prophet in the text, may be precisely determined and reduced to years of the current era. We formerly took occasion to shew, that according to the views of Daniel, its commencement must be dated from the year 736 of the Christian era. By a computation, founded on the epoch and period assigned to it by St. John, we deduce the same conclusion. For the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, on which it is founded, having occurred in the year 70 of our era; on adding 666 to that date, the sum, amounting to 736, expresses the identical year, which was obtained by a different computation on the authority of Daniel. On a coincidence so extraordinary, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that it is rendered more remarkable by the proportion which the numbers, employed in the deduction of the acquired date, bear to each other; the 666 years of St. John being nearly one-half of the 1335 of Daniel, and forming with it the sum of two millenniums. Of this remarkable period, it will at present suffice to observe, that it amounts to the interval during which the Jews have supposed the earth will be subject to the Messiah; and which the Christians, after their example, have conceived will

intervene, between the time of his advent and the universal diffusion of his religion. Though these results may be regarded, as rather curious than important; they exhibit a regularity in the disposition, which affords grounds, for reasonable inference, if not for certain deduction. While engaged, as we are at present, in tracing the miraculous interposition of providence, we must be prepared to admit, that such order conveys the most convincing proof of intention. From this concession, the inference will not be resisted, that prophecy becomes, under this aspect, more elevated and useful; as it gives proof, not merely of the unerring prescience of the Divinity, but of his providential control. By the evidence which it thus bears to Revelation, the consequence is established, that it is no less his prerogative to reveal what is future, than to accomplish it, in his own good time and pleasure.

II. We have thus ascertained, on the concurrent testimony of the two prophets, the commencement of a period, dated from the year 736; of which they assure us, that it would be marked by a corruption of the religion established by the Messiah. As the pestilence which it spread infected the atmosphere, the vital frame into which his spirit had breathed life and health, became a prey to disease and mortality. The prediction, in which this defection was foretold, does not however depend on the coincidence

which has been hitherto traced between Daniel and St. John, as dating its rise from the same year; however the argument may serve to confirm their authority, in disproving the possibility that it could arise from fraud or collusion. The date being determined, the perfect establishment of the proof must depend on the strictness of the correspondence, between the description of the prediction, and the nature of the events, in which it is identified. To enter into a minute examination of the imagery, in which the prophets have expressed themselves, if consistent with my object or limits, would be, however, superfluous; after the learned labors of those who have preceded me in my present undertaking. It will be sufficient, for my immediate purpose, to assume, what they have fully established; that the great revolutions, which distinguished the fall of the last of the prophetical empires, which erected its throne in Rome, and which signalized its resuscitation by the arrogation of its supremacy, when revived, were accurately foreshewn and accomplished. They have insisted with equal force and justice, on the precision with which the tyrannical power, which was the proper object of their predictions, is identified, in the determination of the seat of its dominion, on the seven hills:* and on the accuracy, with

* Rev. xvii. 7, 9.

which the changes in the form of the Roman government, from the kings to the emperors, were foretold; and with which the distribution of the empire, into ten kingdoms, when dismembered by the northern nations, is imaged. But, what comes more immediately home to our purpose, they have traced in the prophetical description, the future rise of a power, on the fall of those kingdoms, under the image of "a beast, coming up out of the earth, who had two horns like a lamb:"* who would exercise the power of the first beast,† "whose deadly wound would be healed,"‡ and would be his image and representative.§ In this description, they have clearly identified that profane and tyrannical power; the duration of which is fixed, in the text on which they expatiate, at 1260 years, and dated, as we have seen, from the year 736 of our era.

It falls more immediately within my province to prove, that from the same year, the manifestation of that power, which is distinguished in Scripture, as Antichrist, must be necessarily dated. The profane and tyrannical usurper, thus designated, being once identified in the single circumstance, that the seat of his dominion would be erected in Rome; the establishment of the prediction will follow, in the eviction, that, at

* Rev. xiii. 11. † Ibid. 12. ‡ Ibid. 3. § Ibid. 14.

that time above all others, the power which there sat enthroned exhibited those characters, in which he is depicted by the prophets. "And there was given him a mouth speaking great things. . . . . And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God. . . . . And it was given unto him to make war upon the saints."*

1. In tracing the course of corruption in the Christian church, it seems not possible to point out a time, to which this description so exactly applies, as that which has been determined on the prophetical testimony. In the strictest accordance with the tenor of the prediction, we find the power, which from that time usurped the supremacy, as it occupied the seat of the imperial authority, became no less remarkable for its intolerance and persecuting spirit, than its idolatrous defection from the true religion. The period which produced a change so extraordinary as was thus effected in Christianity, and which operated a total revolution in the civil and religious state of Europe, exceeded little more than twenty-five years. In the course of that time, the Iconoclast controversy, which ended in the recognition of idolatry, as the established religion of Christendom, commenced and terminated. At the close of it the Bishop of Rome found himself in possession of the dominions of

* Rev. xiii. 5, 6, 7.

which the emperor had been stripped in Europe, on whom a sentence of excommunication and deprivation had been pronounced by the usurper.

Beyond this event, it is needless to look for the circumstances in which the first clause of the prediction was accomplished. "And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies."* From the time of the partition of the Roman empire, among its northern conquerors, the Popes were chosen by the kings of Italy, and owed them allegiance. During the continuance of the exarchate, to which the authority retained by the Greek Emperor in the west was committed, Rome, like Constantinople, was subject to an urbicary prefect. But from the commencement of this century, in which the Popes became possessed of the territories held by the exarchs, they opposed the imperial vicegerents with force of arms; the first of them, who was named John, in contempt of the edict issued by the emperor Leo for the destruction of images, erected a chapel to the virgin, and profaned the churches by the introduction of idols into the sanctuary. As in the convulsions to which the natural world is subject, the sea when driven from one coast breaks in upon another; in the revolutions effected in the moral world, the disturbing forces, in changing their direction,

* Rev. xiii. 5.

tended to encrease the devastation. The encroachment of the wide-spreading usurpation on the regal supremacy was commensurate with the defection from the divine service. Having proceeded to the denial of the emperor's authority in matters of faith, in the year 725; the Pontiffs acquired boldness sufficient in the following year to shake off their allegiance. At the same time, they entered into an alliance with the king of the Lombards, the natural enemy of the exarchs; and in the confidence inspired by the coalition, inhibited the imperial tribute throughout Italy. The protection of the founders of the Carlovingian dynasty, in whom the imperial authority revived, having been sought and obtained at this time; a foundation was thus laid for that understanding between Emperor and Pope, which ended in the partition of the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy between them, by which Europe continues to be oppressed to the present hour. In the strength acquired, in the alliance, thus contracted, the excommunication of the emperor was pronounced by the Pontiff in 730; and the tribute, which he had hitherto drawn from the western dominions, was thenceforth expressly interdicted.

2. The profane character of this apostacy had thus far revealed itself, in the opposition shewn to the measures of the Emperor Leo, a prince, whose great offence consisted in his hostility to

the idolatry which profaned the churches. The pollution of the sanctuary was not complete, until the usurper's character was further developed. It had been likewise declared by the prophet, that "he should open his mouth in blasphemy against God, to profane his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven."* It was reserved for the turbulent prelate who succeeded to the Pontificate in 731 to carry this prediction into execution. His administration commenced in the convocation of above eight hundred bishops in the very seat of Antichrist; by whose exertions it was not merely fulfilled, but at the time, which had been fixed for his manifestation. In the year 736, which prophecy had assigned to that event, the deliberations of this Council were brought to an issue: and they closed, not merely in pronouncing a sentence of excommunication and deposition against the emperor, but in superseding the pure worship of God with the idolatrous veneration of saints and images. Beyond this blasphemous perversion of the honor due to his name, it seems preposterous to look for the accomplishment of the prediction; his authority being profaned, and his sanctuary desecrated, by the introduction of images within its sacred precincts. And in equal conformity to what had been foretold, the conjuncture, at which the altar

* Rev. xiii. 6.

was thus polluted with unhallowed fire, was not less distinguished by the establishment of the papacy in its usurpation, than by the subversion of the last of the ten kingdoms, which had risen on the ruins of Imperial Rome, the last of the prophetical monarchies. For we find these events connected in the ancient chronicles; in which it is recorded, among the incidents of this remarkable time, that the last of the kingdoms of the Goths and Visigoths, who had held Spain, Gaul and Italy in subjection, for above three hundred years, was now subverted to the foundation.

3. The circumstances added in the prediction, which declares, that the apostate church would be no less distinguished by its persecuting spirit, than its intolerance and profaneness, may appear to be directed against it, at a later period of its defection. "And it was given unto him to make war with the saints: and power was given him, over all kindreds, tongues and nations."* During so much of the period of 1260 years as has elapsed, since its commencement in the year 736; the claim to supremacy has been no less boundless in its assertion, than is thus expressly foretold. And if, for the whole of that time, it has not been enforced by persecution; it ought not to be forgotten, that during the earlier part of it, no one was found to dispute, and during the

* Rev. xiii. 7.

later, it would not be safe to assert it. At the commencement of the next century, the concession of the civil supremacy, to the western Emperor, by the Pope, was recompensed by the acknowledgment, that the ecclesiastical was vested in the sovereign pontiff: submission to whose decrees was from thenceforth enforced by the secular arm. To its correction or infliction, all who have dared to remonstrate against the corruption and tyranny of this profane usurpation have been committed, under the denunciation of rebellion and heresy. Thus even under the semblance of Christian mildness and forbearance, has this intolerant church sustained the character of a persecutor: denouncing her victims by a sentence from which there was no reprieve, while she avoided the odium incurred by their execution. In the multitudes which she has committed to the dungeon and the stake, the reproach of tyrannical oppression has been justly earned. When her baleful influence was in the zenith, the plague with which she has visited the nations who defied her vengeance, or refused submission to her dominion, has identified her as the object of the prophetical denunciation. Since the dawn of the reformation, on which Christendom has been forced, to free itself, from the oppressiveness of her tyranny, and the enormity of her corruption; the prediction of the Evangelist has received a literal accomplish-

ment, in the religious wars which she has fomented, and the crusades which she has excited, against the sacred and zealous band, which has denounced her errors, and cast off her fetters.

During the long and gloomy period of eleven centuries, through which this spiritual tyranny has extended; the apocalyptic prediction may be said to have been in the course of fulfilment. The possibility of recovery or retreat from the ground which was taken up by the assertors of this unnatural usurpation, has been precluded, by the vain pretensions to infallibility, with which it has been sustained and extended. The idolatry to which it avowed an early devotion, has thus continued to desecrate the sanctuary. The supremacy of Him whom "God has given to be the Head over all things to the Church;"* who as "a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech,"† unites in his person the royal and sacerdotal character, thus continues to be superseded, by a profane and blasphemous usurper, who arrogates unconditional submission, as his earthly vicar. While in the tone of haughty and overbearing assumption with which these pretensions are advanced, and in the spirit of intolerance and persecution with which they are enforced; the hideous picture of ferocity, un-

* Eph. i. 22. † Heb. v. 6.

cleanness and rapacity which inspiration has embodied under the form and name of "the beast," acquires a reality, that almost exceeds credibility.

III. We are further assured, on the authority of inspiration, that with the period of 1260 years, within which events of this magnitude and enormity will be comprised, incidents of no light importance or interest to the Church will be concurrent. Of predictions bearing this character some account may be reasonably required of him who has undertaken the exposition of the prophecies, which are distinguished as chronological. In this class the apocalyptic predictions must be included, relative to "the two witnesses," who, it is declared, will prophesy against Antichrist, for the forementioned number of 1260 years;* and respecting "the woman," who, for the same space of time, we are further assured, "will flee into the wilderness."†

In venturing on the elucidation of a subject, which has baffled the skill of the most learned and sagacious expositors; it seems necessary to premise, that it is involved in an obscurity which is unparalleled in the mysterious book, which has supplied the subject of our present investigation. In justification of the little success, with which the labors of the commentators upon that work

* Rev. xi. 3. † Ibid. xii. 6.

have been attended, the plea may be further urged, that upon many prophecies a seal is set, which it would be presumptuous to violate, before the time of their accomplishment is mature. From every view which has been taken of the great period of 1260 years, with which the predictions before us are obviously coincident; it must be concluded, that a sufficient portion of time must have elapsed, since its commencement in the year 736, to enable us to form a probable conjecture, of their intention and subject. That in which my judgment rests is not offered as unencumbered with difficulties; but as involving fewer than any at which I have been enabled to arrive after a protracted and patient inquiry.

1. If "the two witnesses," which are to prophesy against Antichrist for so many years, be not found in Daniel and St. John, the inspired authors of the predictions, on which I have expatiated at such a length; I can discover nothing in the history of the Christian Church, or the experience of its defection, in which the prediction can be verified. When but slight allowance is made for the mystic character of the Apocalypse, and the figurative nature of its language; the subjects in which the verification of the prediction is sought seem to agree sufficiently well with the tenor of its description. While their prophecies continue in the course of fulfilment; and we have the experience of eleven centuries

in confirmation of the spirit with which they were delivered; it is not to be disputed, that their inspired authors discharge the part of "witnesses" against that apostasy of the Church, of which they disclose the nature, and determine the duration. In delivering this testimony, they appear as the representatives of the two dispensations, which are "the witnesses of Jesus:" the Evangelical being sustained in the person of St. John, and the Prophetical supported in that of Daniel.

2. Of the concomitant prophecy of "the woman, who should flee into the wilderness," my judgment is delivered with more hesitation. Of the different opinions which have been hazarded on this difficult subject, that which discovers in the apocalyptic image, the Jewish Church, appears to be least liable to exception. It does not in fact admit of much dispute, that in their perverse opposition to the religion of Christ, the Jews continue to give evidence of its truth, while they remain desolate and rejected. In their existence as a people, they exhibit a standing miracle in its support; while in their dispersion they contribute to fulfil the prophecies which establish its divinity. The interpretation which is thus given to the prophet's words, is supposed to derive confirmation from the imagery in which he has arrayed them. The object which he personifies, whatever be its nature, is described by him as a female "clothed with the sun, and hav-

ing the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:"* in these figures, a resemblance has been discovered to the Mosaic dispensation, as characterised by its "new moons and sabbath days;" and an allusion traced to the twelve thrones which are represented in the apocalyptic vision, as reserved for the Apostles, chosen from the Jewish communion. The description of the child, which she brought forth, which was "caught up to God and to his throne,"† and against which the unintermitting enmity of the serpent was directed,‡ is conceived to point out Him, "who was born king of the Jews,"§ of whom it was foretold and believed, that "he was to rule the nations with a rod of iron."‖ In offering this exposition, which I propose with great diffidence, I must deprecate all intention of pretending to pronounce any further than experience of the past appears to justify us in concluding. For the latter part of the prediction, from whence the strongest objections to what I have advanced seem likely to be deduced, is apparently descriptive of future events, on which I avow my inability to form any probable conjecture.

It may be matter of objection or offence, in considering the promise of a supremacy given to

* Rev. xii. 1. † Ibid. 5. ‡ Ibid. 4.
§ Matt. ii. 2. ‖ Rev. ib. 5. comp. Ps. ii. 9.

the Messiah, that his throne should be ceded to a profane usurper, for a period, of which the length was not only defined, but the date fixed by prophetical foresight. The subject would be involved in a labyrinth of perplexity, from which no clue would be found to extricate us, were the notions adopted by some speculatists admitted, that the system of divine providence, instead of being accomplished by free moral agents acting under the control of a Sovereign Ruler, was effected under an absolute decree, in which the means and the end were alike predestined. Were the latter representation received as legitimate doctrine, the scheme of prophecy would be not only useless but inexplicable: while on the assumption of the antecedent, the subject may be easily freed from every embarrassment. For, whatever difficulty has arisen against the admission of human freedom; it is on no side disputed that it extends to the commission of wickedness. This conclusion is, indeed, unavoidable, unless we are so profane as to deny the distinction between good and evil, or so blasphemous as to refer all moral turpitude to God as its author. To persons endued with such liberty, and placed in similar circumstances, the system of prophecy, as well as of providence, appears to be wisely adapted. As revealing the purposes of God, while it demonstrates his intervention, it declares his judgment against impenitent offenders; to

whom he declares his will with the offer of assistance to perform it. The system of his moral government thus appears conformable to the immutable principles of right and wrong, which the internal light that he has given us for our direction enables us to discover, and to establish on an impregnable basis. It is thus equally worthy of the attributes of the Sovereign Judge, and suited to the nature of his moral accountable creatures: from whom nothing is required, which they are not enabled, in being supplied with the means, to perform.

Of a system thus wisely and beneficently arranged, it is a necessary effect, that it should be subject to occasional disorder: inasmuch as the perversion of that freedom which is prone and permitted to err, or the neglect or abuse of those means which are supplied for its restraint or guidance, must lead to derangement. In the provision made by the Sovereign Disposer, for the correction of these abuses, the justice of the providence in which he governs the world is easily discovered. He has not only prescribed a limit which transgression should not pass: but has appointed a time, in which all that is now given up to disorder will be repaired or rectified. The boundary thus fixed, the restitution thus determined, it is the part of prophecy to disclose; and in the predictions which are distinguished as chronological they are expressly revealed.

While from the nature of the revelation, and the regularity of the periods by which it is computed, the proof and vindication of his divine providence is directly deducible.

From these principles a reply is easily found to any exception which may be made to the prevalence of the profane usurpation, which has so long invaded the sovereignty, and oppressed the Church, of Christ. Ere the flood of iniquity, with which his inheritance is overwhelmed, broke in upon it, the period of just 700 years was allowed it, in trial, although with little avail; that period having elapsed, between the offering of that sacrifice, which "brought in everlasting righteousness," and the pollution of the sanctuary with the abomination of idols. With equal precision the time is fixed, beyond which the wicked will not be suffered to triumph in disregard or defiance of the long-suffering mercy of God. In this wise and gracious disposition, which displays alike his attributes of mercy and justice, while it reconciles his sovereignty with the submission of man; adequate provision is made that his providence shall be vindicated, and his purposes carried into effect, according to his pleasure and in his appointed season.

Although we thus easily recognise the wisdom of his dispensations; there is doubtless much in the means by which they are accomplished, which to our finite capacities and limited views must be inscrutable.

It is sufficient for us, that in all that it concerns us to know, He has delivered himself with that explicitness, which though it may not gratify a vain curiosity, is adequate to our illumination and direction. It had sufficed, for the vindication of his ways and purposes, had he merely declared his aversion of evil, and warned us of the consequences of yielding to its seductions. But he points out a lode-star by which our course may be shaped, and the shoals and quicksands avoided, which expose the unwary to shipwreck. On the revelation which he has made to us, he has impressed that evidence of a special providence, which in convincing us that he is witness of our actions, adds the strongest inducements that we should persevere in the track of our duty. And that the most incorrigible should be left without excuse, in the probationary state wherein they are placed; he has graciously condescended to apprise them of the dangers which beset those who may be tempted to desert it. He has not only forewarned them, that there would be a lamentable defection from his service; but has fixed the period of its commencement and its duration; adding to the most solemn denunciations of his wrath, the most affectionate invitations to avoid the impending evil. "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto

heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.... Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her." *

* Rev. xviii. 4, 5, 8.

# LECTURE XII.

## Rev. xx. 6.

"Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years."

Among the objections to which revelation has been exposed, from the corruption and scepticism of its oppugners, not the least plausible have been deduced from the limited effect which has attended its promulgation. Notwithstanding the evidence with which it has been proposed to our faith, and the sanctions with which it commends itself to our obedience; it is not to be denied, that its extent and influence are greatly disproportionate to the splendid results which it promises to realize.

For the causes, however, of this temporary failure, we have not far to look; as they are readily discovered in the evil passions and pro-

pensities, which it is designed to correct and eradicate, and which seek their palliation in the apparent objections to its divine pretensions. It is a sufficient reply to any remaining difficulties with which it is beset, that a wise and adequate provision was made for the attainment of the most ample success; and that its partial inefficacy is conformable to what had been foreseen and predicted. While in many passages of scripture, which give us an insight into the future, and speak a language as explicit as the text, we are assured, that the divine purposes, however deferred for wise and merciful reasons, will, in the fulness of God's good time and pleasure, be indefectibly accomplished. In the gracious assurances, which are given with the view to animate our hope and strengthen our resolutions, we are taught, that a period will come, which will be not less distinguished by the universal diffusion of truth, than by the total suppression of evil; and that desired consummation will arrive which is the object and end of the prophetic vision, when "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of God and of Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever."*

To this blessed period, the arrival of which the prophet describes as hailed by the accla-

* Rev. xi. 15.

mation of angels, the allusion is obvious in the text; where the term of its commencement is prescribed, and fixed at " one thousand years."

The picture which prophecy has drawn of this happy state, when the world relieved from the usurpation of Antichrist, shall yield submission to Christ, is arrayed in the most glowing images and colors. It encourages us to hope, that the mild sway, which will succeed to the corruption and violence that have oppressed humanity, will be boundless and everlasting. In the repose which will diffuse itself over the earth, no longer racked by storms, nor rent by internal convulsions; the ills which are the melancholy inheritance of fallen man will cease for ever: the troubled elements by which it is vexed being then lulled to rest, as the natural are controlled, and the moral and social tranquillized. The flames of war being thenceforth extinguished throughout the world, the scourge of pestilence and famine will no more smite it: but the air breathe freshness, life and health, as the earth teems with the bounty of nature: until, in the perennial peace and sunshine which are diffused over its bosom, the paradise which was destined for man in innocence, will be restored in primitive loveliness and felicity.

I. As these prophetic descriptions are liable to be variously understood, according to the vividness of conception with which they are regarded:

very different opinions are maintained on the nature of this "rest which remaineth to the people of God;" * into an examination of which it would exceed my limits to enter at present. It will suffice to observe, that of those who adopt the most opposite conclusions, in regarding it either as a spiritual, or a temporal state, all are agreed, that it will be consecrated to rest and holiness. This is not only implied, in its nature, as "a rest" or sabbatism, and in the title of "priests of God and of Christ," by which the subjects of the heavenly kingdom are distinguished in the text: it is obvious in the causes, specified in the context, of that reign of purity and peace, by which corruption and violence will be superseded: as "that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan shall be bound a thousand years." †

On the precise length of this period, which however variously identified or computed, it cannot be disputed is simultaneous with that specified in the text, some doubt has been entertained. I shall not, however, engage in a formal refutation of those, who conceive it put for an indefinite though extended term of years; and on the assumption found the inference, that the prediction of the text has been long accomplished. The division of the entire course of

* Heb. iv. 9. † Rev. xx. 2.

time, from the creation to the consummation of all things, into millenary periods, according to predictions, not only current among the Jews, the Christians, and Pagans, but which have been singularly verified, as I shall soon have occasion to shew, renders the undertaking almost superfluous. The position, thus assumed as a postulate, admits of immediate establishment, from the connexion subsisting between the period of 1000 years defined in the prophecy which engages our immediate consideration, and that of 1260 years, which supplied the subject of my last discussion. The computation of the latter date was expressly followed up, as leading to the discovery of a period, to be distinguished by those characters of purity and peace, in which the former is arrayed in the prophetical description. As the one was not less signalized by the pollution, than the other by the purification of the sanctuary; in fixing the close of the one, the commencement of the other was necessarily determined. As it is thus easy to shew, that the millenary distribution is preserved, in the division of time in those prophecies which hold so high a rank among the chronological; the principle may be equally shewn to extend to that happy time, to which the present period, in which our own lot has fallen, is merely introductory.

1. This inference is directly deducible from

the determination of the commencement of "the thousand years which shall be fulfilled." As it is matter of the simplest computation to shew, according to the view which has been taken of the revealed purposes of God, that the apostasy of Antichrist for 1260 years, will close with the second Millennium from the Nativity, or the sixth from the Creation; the reign of Christ and his saints, as consecutive to it, will necessarily open with the seventh, should the ordinary course of divine providence preserve an uninterrupted tenor. It was however my object, on a former occasion to prove, that the period of antichristian defection should be dated from the year 736 of the current era; which from the error of four years in the vulgar mode of reckoning should be increased to 740. When to this epoch 1260 years are added, the sum precisely amounts to 2000 years: and this sum being again added to the 4000 years which intervened between the Creation and the Nativity, will amount to 6000. Should not a special providence interpose to shorten the time, it thus seems to be fixed in the divine counsels, that from the 6000th year of the world, the Great Sabbath, which is more generally known as the Millennium, shall commence upon earth. In the vicissitudes of season which this great cycle will bring round, a perennial spring will at length succeed to protracted winter. Had not the term of its duration been expressly

and repeatedly described by the evangelist as a period of "a thousand years;" such might be analogically concluded to be its length from its sabbatical nature; a seventh period of that length being no less necessary to complete the millenary week, than a day of the natural length to perfect the analogous division of time, which was instituted at the Creation.

2. To the preceding inferences, however, no slight confirmation arises, from a prediction relative to the age of the world; which has been long current among the Jews, and for which, many Christians have conceived, that authority may be discovered in the canonical scriptures. In this revelation, which is supposed to have emanated from the prophetical school of Elias, it is declared, that 6000 years were prescribed to the duration of the world; for 2000 of which it should be without the Law, for 2000 under the Law, and for 2000 under the Messiah.

The remarkable coincidence between this prediction and the distribution of the time intervening between the creation and consummation of all things, is sufficiently established in the affinities which have been recently traced, to entitle it to some share of attention. Thus far, it is obvious, it stands the test by which prophecy should be tried; as the event is answerable to the prognostication. The conformity is, however, observed to extend not only to the epoch

of the Advent of Christ, which it has accurately determined, in referring it to the year 4000 of the world; but may be verified in the distribution of the period antecedent and subsequent to the Nativity. The preceding term of years is divided into equal portions by the birth of Abraham, which is placed, in the best digested system of chronology, at 2000 years from the Creation, on the one side, and from the Nativity, on the other. From the time of the patriarch, the commencement of the Law is generally dated by the Jews: who distinguish between the unwritten and the written code, and deduce the former from Abraham, as the latter from Moses. The prophecy of Elias, in its distribution of the 6000 years assigned to the age of the world, into periods of 2000 years, appears thus plainly verified by the event, in the time which preceded the coming of the Messiah. That which has succeeded his advent, is at present in the course of fulfilment; it consequently remains for time to prove how far the period of 2000 years, which it is equally assigned, is accurately determined. Thus far we are assured by experience, that for the eighteen centuries which have hitherto elapsed, the Gospel has expanded its branches and diffused its shade, in conformity to what has been revealed in the prediction.

II. The course of time, as thus distributed into six millenary periods, when viewed in refe-

rence to the declaration of the Evangelist in the text, may be considered as introductory to a *seventh*, to which an equal duration is ascribed with the preceding. Regarded in this view, it becomes a proper Sabbatism, not merely as succeeding to six periods of the same length, but as distinguished from them, in its consecration to peace and righteousness, while they are consigned to labor and sorrow. The entire course of time, thus viewed in succession, as consisting of seven periods of 1000 years each, has been justly compared to a Great Week; the last period of which, termed, by eminence, the Millennium, as analogous to the primeval Sabbath, forms a proper Sabbatism.

With the analogies, on which the preceding deductions are founded, the primitive Christians were well acquainted. They were equally familiar to the Jews, from whom they seem to have passed to the inspired compilers of our canonical scriptures. The distribution of the age of the world into millenniums, they agree in conceiving was prefigured in the work of creation. While the divine architect might have at once brought all things into existence by his almighty *fiat;* he was pleased to employ six days in the work, and to consecrate the seventh by resting from the operation. In this distribution of time, at the commencement of the world, he was graciously pleased to signify his intentions, as to

its future and final destination. For as many days as had been consumed in bringing it into existence, it would be consigned to millenniums of toil and sorrow; and as the seventh day had been devoted to rest, it should enjoy a sabbatism in the seventh millennium. As the Evangelist has been understood to allude to this subject in the text; to it also St. Paul has been supposed to refer, in declaring, that "there remaineth a sabbatism to the people of God."* And St. Peter has been supposed to recognise the method of reasoning, by which the inference on which it is founded is deduced, when he declares, "that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years."† Whatever be the opinion which is formed respecting the apostles, it is at least certain, that their uninspired contemporaries, in arriving at the same conclusion, have pursued the path, in which they have preceded: unless St. Paul be supposed to proceed on the assumption of its conclusiveness, his inference, that "there remaineth a rest" to be enjoyed, is inobvious or inconclusive. That these notions are not groundless speculations admits of satisfactory proof; as they may be verified in the course of mundane events; over which it may be presumed, that providence has exercised an immediate control. In the whole of God's dealings

* Heb. iv. 9. † 2 Pet. iii. 8.

with that nation, whom he had chosen for " his people," the course of events maintains a constant and uniform tenor. In the order and regularity with which his dispensations were conducted, the object is not merely apparent, to establish them in " a rest," at an appointed time, but at intervals in which the sabbatical division of it is predominant; instances of which have been recently adduced from the Jewish and Christian writers.

1. Occasion has frequently occurred, in the course of these discussions, to point out the tendency manifested in the divine purposes towards this great consummation; when the creation respited from sin and sorrow, would enjoy that holy rest, of which the text contains the final revelation. It seems to have alone comported with the divine intentions, that the offer of its enjoyment should be made under specific conditions; the rejection or violation of which could alone prevent its immediate realization. It was in this manner offered to the Israelites, when introduced into Canaan, as it is still offered to us, on the condition of a lively faith in the divine promises. But as their historian and legislator declares, " they did *not believe* the Lord their God: and the Lord heard the voice of their words, and was wroth and sware saying, Surely there shall not one of this evil generation see that good land which I sware to give unto your

fathers."* On the entrance of the succeeding generation into a temporal rest in this land; the same promises were given, and the same conditions proposed, through the prophets. They have been since renewed, through the apostles, to the Gentiles, who have been grafted into that stem, from which the Jews were broken off; who from the consideration that the promise has not been fulfilled, though confirmed by God with an oath, have inferred its final, though protracted accomplishment.

But what comes more immediately within my purpose to observe, is the crisis at which the proposition of this admission into his rest was made by God to the Israelites. The course of time, from their admission into the promised land, had been measured by sabbatical periods, consisting of seven years; and as appears from many incidents in the patriarchal history, the same mode of measuring the lapse of years had been observed from the earliest ages: it is probable from the delivery of the promise to Abraham. It has been however found, that 365 of those sabbatical periods,—as many precisely as there are days in the natural year,—intervene between the epoch from whence they are deduced, at the Creation, and that of the partition of the Land of Promise by Joshua, and the

* Deut. i. 32—35.

allotment of the cities to the Levites, where they subsequently settled. The entire period, from its analogy to the annual revolution, has been consequently deemed a Great Sabbatical Year: and the supposition may be justified on a further analogy established by God himself, at its close; when in determining the period of the wandering in the desert, he lays down the rule of prophetical interpretation, by which a day is put for a year.* The temporal rest into which the carnal Israelites were led by Joshua was merely typical of that great sabbath into which the true Israelites are conducted by Jesus. However casual the concurrence may be regarded, that the occupation of Canaan should have precisely occurred at the close of this sabbatical period forming a Great Year: it will be at least admitted, that had it been intended, it could have been hardly effected at a more appropriate crisis.

2. The coincidence thus traced may be however regarded as introductory to another period, forming in like manner a Great Year; and deducible from the epoch of the preceding. Of those cycles, which were supposed to effect in their revolution a Great Restitution, similar to that to which Christians look forward in the Millennium, one of the most ancient and re-

* Num. xiv. 34.

markable, was adopted by the Hebrews, in the Captivity, with the Chaldaic names of the months. To this period, the Chaldees, by whom it was instituted, assigned an interval of 1440 years; as founded on their mode of intercalating the civil year, with twelve months in succession.

It might be regarded as scarcely deserving of particular remark, that this great period precisely, which was supposed to effect, in its revolution, a Great Restitution, is found to intervene between the entrance of Joshua into Canaan, and the appearance of Jesus. But it will be surely allowed, that this coincidence is not light, when taken in connexion with the fact, that half of the period, amounting to 720 years,—in which the intercalated months amounted to half a year, and were supposed to effect a total change in the vicissitude of the seasons,—had precisely elapsed, between the admission of the Israelites into the promised land, and their abduction from it into captivity. With reference to the Great Sabbatism noticed in the text, of which every antecedent sabbatism was a figure, the preceding observations acquire an increasing importance from a further consideration. As at the one time, the chosen "people of God entered into a rest" according to a promise expressly made to their fathers; at the other, they were expelled from the land, in execution of a denunciation, which had been no less explicitly uttered through

Moses. " You shall keep *my sabbaths* and reverence *my sanctuary*, I am the Lord... But if you will not hearken unto me and do all these commandments.... your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste. Then shall *the land enjoy her sabbaths*, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land: even then *shall the land rest and enjoy her sabbaths.*" *

While the least attentive observer cannot fail to be struck, with the manner in which the notion of this holy rest, during the course of the dispensation, is kept prominently in view; there are coincidences, in the events which were concurrent with the commencement, middle and close, of the great cycle of 1440 years, by which they were measured; which when taken into the consideration of its nature as a Great Year, involve a consistency that cannot be resolved into accident. In those cycles, which were generally founded on the tradition of the fall and the promise of a recovery, it was implied, that they would effect a restitution of nature, in each revolution. In the notion of a transition from good to evil, which they thus involved, it was supposed, a total change would be operated in the moral and physical world; which would be rectified, at the expiration of the term, in the complete restitution of the paradisaical inno-

* Lev. xxvi. 2, 14, 33, 34.

cence and bliss, that had been forfeited by transgression at its commencement. It is therefore difficult to evade the force of the inferences, which result from the analogies, that have been recently intimated, and which establish a connexion between events of unequalled importance to the Jews and Christians. The introduction of the Israelites into the land of promise, as we formerly observed, was a temporal rest, which prefigured the sabbatism which God has reserved for his people. It was not only effected by one who bore the name of Joshua, or Jesus; but who assumed that name, which signifies Saviour, having been previously named Hosea. He entered on his mission, in the passage of Jordan; that river, from which, he, whom he typified, and whose name he bore, commenced his course, after submitting to the rite, that consecrated him to his ministry. In the office which he discharged, he was assisted by the twelve princes who had been chosen to preside over the tribes; as the true Messiah chose twelve associates in his labors, to whom a like authority was promised; as "he appointed them a kingdom, as his Father had appointed unto him ... that they might sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."*

Had similarities thus obvious and close been strained or remote; they might have derived

* Luke, xxii. 29, 30.

some authority from the typical nature of the Mosaical dispensation as perfected in the substantial realities of the Christian. So striking is the resemblance, that the child might be recognised in its likeness to the parent. In the distribution, into equal parts, of the great period by which the shadowy and substantial service are connected; they acquire a consistency which removes all doubt that they are accidental or casual. On the promise of a sabbatism, analogous to the "thousand years which are to be fulfilled," as predicted in the text, Judaism and Christianity, the waning and the everlasting dispensation, appear to be equally founded. At each extreme of the great period, by which we have observed them to be connected, the same subject is kept steadily in view; the analogy being established between them, not merely by inference from the sacred text, but by its express declarations. The terms are not more formal, in which the revelation of God's purposes was made, on the introduction of the Israelites into their rest; than those in which his intentions are declared to have been fulfilled, on their rejection from its enjoyment. The divine purpose remaining unchanged and immutable, as the sacred historian declares, that "the land should enjoy her sabbaths; for as long as she remained desolate, she kept sabbath."*

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

III. In the nature of a sabbatism, however, as thus projected, not only the notion of rest but of *sanctity* is implied. In a sense thus comprehensive, the promise was made to the Israelites; on their receiving an earnest of its accomplishment, in their admission into Canaan. Among the rewards with which God encouraged their hopes, or the denunciations with which he restrained their transgressions, he was graciously pleased to declare, "Ye shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary, I am the Lord . . . And I will set my tabernacle among you . . . And will be your God, and ye shall be my people." * The declaration thus solemnly uttered, as explicitly made of "the sanctuary," had a reference not less close and obvious to the temple than the tabernacle, which had respectively their Holy place and Holy of Holies. For "verily the first Covenant had ordinances of divine service and a worldly sanctuary. For there was a tabernacle made, the first . . . which is called the sanctuary. And after the second veil the tabernacle, which is called the Holiest of all, which had the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant; . . . and over it the cherubim of glory shadowing the mercy seat." † For the place, which God was pleased to sanctify with his immediate presence and illumine with the brightness of his glory, he exacted

* Lev. xxvi. 2, 11, 12. † Heb. ix. 1, 2, 3, 4.

a peculiar veneration; when, in declaring, that "he would pitch his tabernacle among them;" he required, that "they should keep his sabbaths and reverence his sanctuary."* With the fate of the structure, where the Almighty thus condescended to fix his abode, and erect his earthly throne, all the national revolutions which the Jews sustained were intimately connected. Their deportation was coincident with its fall; their restoration with its rebuilding. In its ruins their polity was buried, and is incapable of being revived, until it is again erected. The immediate purpose, however, in which I am engaged, limits my attention, in pursuing its history, to the sabbatical distribution of the course of time, by which its festivals were exclusively ordered. In undertaking to trace the connexion of its fate, with the revolutions in the divine dispensations, I shall confine my attention to the millenary distribution of its progress, as intimated in the text, and according to what has been already observed, as prefigured, in the week of the creation. Following the clue, which we formerly pursued, I shall proceed briefly to shew, that from the dedication of the first Temple, during one-half of the period which has been designated as the Great Sabbatism, the opening of each millennium has been coincident with some extraordinary change

* Lev. xxvi. 2.

in the sanctuary, which the Divinity hallowed with his abiding presence.

1. It has been fully established, on chronological proof, that the dedication of the first Temple must be referred to the year of the world 3001; at the opening precisely of *the fourth* millennium. The Israelites having assembled on the feast of the dedication, brought up the Ark from Sion, and the tabernacle from Gibeon: with the sacred vessels which they placed in the holy place, while they deposited the sacred coffer in the most holy. This memorable occasion is rendered even less remarkable by the extraordinary time at which it occurred, than by the preternatural appearance by which it was dignified. For according to the sacred record of the event, "it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the Lord. So that the priests could not stand to minister, because of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord." *

2. At the distance precisely of 1000 years, in the opening of *the fifth* millennium, the second Temple was sanctified by the presentation of "God manifested in the flesh" by his virgin mother. "When the days of her purification, according to the law of Moses were accom-

* 1 Kings, viii. 10, 11.

plished, they brought him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord . . . And to offer sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord." * In this event, the revelation of the prophecy was first fulfilled, which had declared, that the glory of the first Temple would be exceeded by that of the second; although the plenary accomplishment of the more splendid predictions must be dated from the public ministry of the Redeemer. According to what it declared, "the Lord whom ye seek will suddenly come to his Temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in: behold he shall come saith the Lord of Hosts." †—"The desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory saith the Lord of Hosts." ‡

On the accomplishment of these promises, the nature of the Temple was essentially changed, with the Covenant, from temporal to spiritual. The notion of limiting the glory of the Infinite to an earthly structure, had been deprecated by the pious prince by whom it was raised, from the time of its dedication. "But will God indeed," he asked, "dwell on the earth? behold the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded." § This temple which he had raised,

* Luke, ii. 22, 24. comp. 27.
† Mal. iii. 1.
‡ Hagg. ii. 7.
§ 1 Kings, viii. 27.

and that by which it was succeeded was destined to fall, when the ceremonial for which it was raised should be abolished. A living and a spiritual Temple was from thenceforth chosen for the habitation of "God, who is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth." * In this sense, our Lord "spake of *the temple* of his *body*," when he said, "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up." † In the same sense, the Evangelist declares of "the Logos of life," the living Intelligence, which "became flesh;" that "he dwelt among us;" or, to give full force to the expression, "pitched *his tabernacle* among us; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of his Father." ‡ And with an inconsiderable change in his imagery, the Apostle speaks, in the same sense, of "the sanctuary and true tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man" § . . . "the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say not of this building." ‖ Emanating from this sanctuary, on the assumption of Christ into glory, his Spirit was poured out on his chosen people. Thus "set at his own right hand, in heavenly places," God, "hath put all things under his feet, and given him to be head over all things to *the*

* John, iv. 24. † Ibid. ii. 21. 19.
‡ Ibid. i. 14. § Heb. viii. 2. ‖ Ibid. ix. 11.

*Church*, which is *his body*, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." *

3. To the nature of the Temple, and character of the Dispensation, as thus essentially changed, the revolution sustained by the sanctuary was thenceforth necessarily adapted. At the distance precisely of 1000 years, from the opening of the last-named millennium, when the Word was made flesh, and pitched his tabernacle among us;" † the occupation of his Temple, and the arrogation of his supremacy was effected by Antichrist. From the manifestation of the profane usurper, in the year 736, his encroachment on the divine prerogative had been progressive: at the commencement of the following century, he received, as the ecclesiastical head of the empire, the homage of its legitimate sovereign. But at the opening of the millennium, which formed *the sixth*, a total revolution was effected, through his intrigues, in the imperial succession; which from being hereditary, became thenceforth elective. The right of ratifying and confirming the choice of the electoral college, being now vested in the Roman Pontiff; he assumed the prerogative, not only to issue his mandate, for the election of an emperor, but to excommunicate and depose him when chosen and anointed. The regal and pontifical charac-

* Eph. i. 20, 22, 23. † John, i. 14.

ter of him, to whom, as "a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech,"* the Father had given to be head over all things to the Church,"† has been thus appropriated by an impious pretender, under the claim of being his vicar. While thus seated on the throne, and usurping the supremacy of the Son; to whom the Father has committed the kingdom, until it is surrendered in glory:‡ "he opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God and worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth *in the Temple of God*, shewing himself that he is God."§ While with a fatuity, that is alone resolvable into that "strong delusion, which God shall send those who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness,"‖ he continues to verify in his person all that is predicted of "the man of sin, the son of perdition;"¶ he accumulates the proof, that "the mystery of iniquity doth already work," and that "the Wicked One is revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth and the brightness of his coming."**

4. As the final triumph of Christ will be founded on the subjugation of his enemies;†† this consummation being attained, in which judgment will be executed on "the mother of abo-

* Heb. v. 6. † Eph. i. 22. ‡ 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.
§ 2 Thess. ii. 4. ‖ Ibid. 11, 12. ¶ Ibid. 3.
** Ibid. 7, 8. †† 1 Cor. xv. 25.

minations, the mystical Babylon;" the commencement of the reign of righteousness and peace, may be dated from that of the next millennium. For "that Wicked One," has "power given unto him to continue," but for "two hundred and threescore" years; his destruction, as fixed at that interval from his manifestation, may be consequently expected to occur at that conjuncture. Should not therefore God interpose, "to shorten those days;" we may venture to conclude, that with the opening of *the seventh* and last millennium, the prediction of the text is destined to be fulfilled: when "those on whom the second death hath no power shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him *a thousand years.*"* His kingdom having become commensurate, with the sound of "the Everlasting Gospel" †. . . "which is gone out into all the world;" "every nation and kindred and tongue and people" to which "it is preached," ‡ shall yield a willing submission to his authority. The pale of *the Church* will then know no bounds but those of the habitable world. The living structure, which "is founded on the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," as sanctified with his presence, will "grow into *a Holy Temple* of the Lord, . . . a habitation of God through the Spirit."§

* Rev. xx. 6.
† Ibid. xiv. 6.
‡ Ibid.
§ Eph. ii. 20, 21, 22.

When "the thousand years which should be fulfilled," * have thus come to a close; as time passes into eternity, and the last transition is made from the great to the everlasting sabbath; the promise of that holy rest which God ratified with an oath, will be carried into plenary effect. The divine purposes being thus achieved, the prophetic vision will be fully and finally realized, —"Behold *the tabernacle* of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people: and God himself shall be with them, and be their God." †

The imagery, under which the revolutions destined to take place in the Church are conveyed, is not less striking for its appositeness than its sublimity and beauty. The figure of a Temple under which it is shadowed, acquires an associated solemnity, as well from its identification with the splendid ceremonial of the old Dispensation, as its connexion with the significant Economy of the new; in which that term is taken as equivalent to spiritual edification. Our attention cannot fail to be directed to the fitness and beauty evinced in the choice of it, by the scriptural quotations, with which, as we have shewed, it is illustrated and confirmed. The consecrated structure, from whence the elucidation is drawn, deriving a reverential awe from

* Rev. xx. 3. † Ibid. xxi. 3.

a sense of the presence of that Being, who is the object of all religion, and has made it the place of his abode: while the solemnity of his worship is kept in view, in the accompaniments of the great sabbath, which will open in realizing and perfecting the last and best of his Dispensations. In the imposing objects under which these impressions are conveyed to the mind, all that it can conceive of the grand and solemn is embodied; the conception dilating with the height and massiveness of the pile, as the admiration dwells on the pinnacles and porticos of the structure, over which a sacred awe reposes. Yet faint are those sensations, when compared with the devotional dread, that inspires the votarist, under the deep sense, that within these consecrated precincts a present divinity is adored or supplicated. To form any just idea of the effect, with which the mind on such occasions is impressed, the temple service, when in its greatest splendor, should have been attended. We should have passed its successive courts, and beheld the sacred utensils and furniture in the hour of divine service: have witnessed the glory of its priesthood, the splendor of its lamps, censers, and altars, and heard the prayers and songs of the sacred choir, rise with sacrificial incense: penetrating beyond the sanctuary, we should have been admitted within the veil interdicted to all but the High Priest, in the most solemn

office of the most solemn festival: and have viewed the mercy-seat and cherubim, where the cloud of glory rested.

Yet far above these objects of sense, however glorious and solemn, must the mind ascend to attain a conception of that new and spiritual Dispensation of which they were but shadows and elements. With the vision of the apocalyptic prophet, it must pass from this earthly tabernacle, to "the temple of God opened in heaven, where there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament."* It must ascend, far above the view or conception of "the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, into heaven itself, where Christ is entered in, to appear in the presence of God for us:"† where "we have such a High Priest, who is set on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man."‡ We must await the renovating effects of his ministry, by which old things are made new; when raised from the corruption of the grave, "he shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself."§ When thus

* Rev. xi. 19. † Heb. ix. 24.
‡ Ibid. viii. 1, 2. § Phil. iii. 21.

"conformed to the image of the Son,"* and endued with new senses, we become conscious of new sensations, we shall no longer regard objects through a dim light, and with a reflex vision, but, "seeing face to face, shall know even as we are known."† Thus made conformable to the divine nature, and admitted "within the veil, whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus made a High Priest for ever,"‡ we shall inhale life and light, at the source of immortality and glory; until the soul, in the fruition of God, is blessed to its utmost capacity of enjoyment.

IV. I may be now allowed, I hope, in bringing these discussions to a close, summarily to conclude, that the expectation raised at the commencement of them has not been disappointed. Enough has been advanced to prove; that after the establishment of a Church, whatever were the reverses to which it was subjected, they were not only foreshewn, but the date of them predicted. Of the accuracy of this conclusion, abundant proof has arisen, within the limits of the present discourse: from which it has been shewn, that from the purpose of God to lead the carnal Israelites into a temporal rest, to his determination to grant to the spiritual seed an eternal sabbath, the course of his provi-

* Rom. viii. 29. † 1 Cor. xiii. 12. ‡ Heb. vi. 19, 20.

dence was fixed in its object and unvaried in its tenor. However diversified the course, through which the final purposes were attained; it has not only appeared, that they occurred with his prescience, but were accomplished by his power: the time of them having been not merely fixed, but occurring with that order or regularity, which declared his direct intervention.

Nor is this assumption founded on a limited or partial induction; but embraces within its comprehension every revolution of moment, to which the chosen nation was subject. Without limitation or exception, all are included:—whether we consider their election or establishment;—their deportation, captivity or restoration;—the revolutions in their religion and their polity;—the fate of their temple and city;—the advent and ministry, the rejection and death of the Messiah;—the temporary success of the adversary of his religion;—its universal diffusion and ultimate triumph: all are the subject of explicit predictions, which in fixing the time, while they reveal the circumstances of the event, leave no room for evasion or doubt, as to the authority with which they were delivered.

On taking a retrospect of the scheme of prophecy, as hitherto developed; it may be inferred of the evidence which it embodies, that if it be rejected as inconclusive, it seems difficult to conceive any form of proof which will afford adequate ground for conviction. Could the demon-

strative form of argument, hitherto pursued, be resolved into accident; or the anticipations of future events, which it exhibits, be imputed to human sagacity: it would be absurd to assert, that disposition gave evidence of design, or that conjecture relied upon chance for its verification.

Should the conclusions which it tends to establish be rejected, as groundless, it seems not too bold to assert, that certainty cannot be reached by the deductions of science. For unless the definition of demonstration, which it recognises as legitimate, be disputed; the merit of having attained it cannot be denied to the method of proof, on which Chronological Prophecy is rigidly founded. The *time* which is predicted and the *scale* by which it is measured, cannot be denied to be strictly *homogeneous:* and, it admits not of doubt, that demonstration can be only effected by shewing the agreement between *quantities* of that nature. The equations, to which they are without exception reducible, may be included under this description. By a method of proof thus rigorous, it cannot be fairly disputed, the fulfilment of every prediction has been established. Until the correspondence, therefore, which has been traced, be proved factitious; or denied to exist between the quantities which are compared; the demonstration must be allowed to be strictly established.

From the preceding discussion, a further con-

sequence, and no less important, may be equally deduced. The proof which it furnishes of the permanence of that species of divine demonstration on which Revelation is founded is not less decisive. The direct interposition of the Deity, which is implied in that term, can be evinced but in two conceivable modes: as he is supposed to give direct and sensible evidence of his *power*, or his *prescience*. As miracles fall under the one denomination, prophecy comes under the other. And it has been contrived, with infinite wisdom and goodness, that to either species of evidence reference might be ever made, in support of the truth of Revelation. Before time was allowed for the fulfilment of prophecy, the sanction of God could be only proved by his immediate intervention: an appeal was accordingly made to his *power*, and the course of nature being miraculously changed or suspended, the result proved his direct co-operation with his legate or minister. In prophetical communications, his *prescience* is rather invoked than his *power:* but it is referred to time to verify the prediction. The demonstration which Prophecy effects thus belongs as much to the present age, as that of Miracles to the primitive. In this view it is commended to our attention, not less by the divine founder of our religion, than by the Apostles: who have respectively compared it, to the greatest miracles by which our holy faith is

established, the resurrection * and transfiguration † of its "author and finisher." In the body of evidence which the present discussion has contributed to bring into light, superabundant proof exists that its importance has not been overrated.

In the development of the system which has been unfolded, it will not be, however, denied me, that sufficient has appeared, though perhaps not to convince yet to confound the sceptical; more than sufficient to satisfy the unprejudiced inquirer. What comes to us with such evidence of power and prescience, and of consistency of purpose, cannot be reasonably rejected as inadmissible, from being unworthy of its author. And if once received on such authority, it leaves no room for scepticism or doubt, that He from whom it is revealed, comprehends the events of which this earth is the scene within the scheme of his providence. On the uniform tendency of this providence, the ultimate end of his dispensations, I have sufficiently enlarged. The promises which were made to his people continue unreclaimed; the rest, which he sware he would give them, is still unenjoyed. While he instructs us to pray daily, that his "kingdom may come;" he exhorts us to be vigilant, and requires us to be prepared for his coming. "Let

* Luke, xvi. 31. † 2 Pet. i. 18, 19.

us therefore fear, lest a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it. Wherefore (as the Holy Ghost saith, To-day if ye will hear his voice Harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness: When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years. Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in their heart; and they have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.) Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God. But exhort one another daily, while it is called To-day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end." *

* Heb. iii. 7—14.

# NOTES.

# NOTES.

## LECTURE I.

P. 2. l. 9. REVELATION being supernatural religion, as opposed to natural; it is not only reasonable, but consistent, that it should be supported by evidence of its own kind. Christianity, from the time of its foundation, has accordingly laid claim to the testimony of *inspiration* and *miracles:* see Nolan's Serm. on the Oper. of H. Ghost, p. 401. n. on p. 133. l. 6; comp. n. on p. 48. l. 12. Between these species of divine demonstration, by which the truth of a revelation is proved, the difference has been justly remarked, that the one belongs to the times in which it is made, while the other extends to future ages. From this extraordinary arrangement it follows, that religion is never destitute of the proof arising from supernatural evidence. As long as prophecy remains in the course of fulfilment; the voice of inspiration, it may be truly said, continues to proclaim its divine original.

From this character, prophecy derives no small portion of its importance, and is indeed recommended, on account of it, by the inspired writers. St. Peter, in allusion to "the life and immortality which were brought to light by the gospel," declares; "of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come. . . . . Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things, which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven: which things the angels desire to look into." 1 Pet. i. 10. 12. In the same view, he appears to magnify it above the most miraculous instances of the divine intervention, of which those "that preached the gospel" were

witnesses. In reference to one of the most extraordinary of "*the signs* from Heaven," on which so much stress was laid in his own age;—"the voice which came from Heaven," which they heard, who "were with him in the holy mount;"—he observes, "we have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts: knowing this, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation." 2 Pet. i. 18. 19. 20. The *sign* was given but to a chosen few; while *prophecy* addressed itself to all who would "search the scriptures:" it was thus intitled to the preference, on the ground of public and permanent usefulness.

The dispensation of Providence, in granting the power of working miracles to the primitive age, and withdrawing it from the present, is easily justified on the different state of mankind, previously to the foundation of Christianity, and since its propagation. The corruption, ignorance, and infidelity, with which it originally had to contend, were only to be subdued by an exertion of extraordinary power. The weight of authority, the force of human reasoning, and the influence of public opinion, are now enlisted on its side; which were once leagued together for its destruction.

Miracles must be, however, regarded, as attaining this end, in consequence of forming the evidence of inspiration; to which prophecy was wholly incompetent, until time should elapse for its fulfilment. The person who laid claim to divine illumination, in order to have his pretensions allowed, was placed under the necessity of proving them by miraculous operation. What then required the exertion of supernatural power to its establishment; is now proved in the ordinary operation of nature; the exact accomplishment of a prophecy clearly evincing that it was dictated by inspiration. The event, as preternaturally foreshown, is thus in effect the same, as the work miraculously performed: each establishing the claims of him, who demands that his communications should be received as a revelation from Heaven, by proving them divinely sanctioned.

The comparative advantages of prophecy may be thus sustained; and the particular claims which it has on our attention, as adapted to the state of those among whom our own lot is cast,

may be established. It is, however, far from my intention to withdraw from revelation any part of the stability, which it derives from those main pillars by which it is supported. Of the miracles, wrought for the establishment of our faith, we have received an authentic and well-attested account; they are thus admissible on the same grounds on which all matters of fact are received, of which we are not immediate witnesses,—the credibility of human testimony. And this testimony is not only transmitted in records which have been preserved with a religious care, and sealed in the blood of those by whom it was delivered; but has received the confirmation of foes as well as friends, having been virtually recognised as true by Jews, Pagans, and Heretics: see Serm. on Oper. of H. Ghost, p. 321. n. to p. 69. l. 24. p. 386. n. to p. 129. l. 12.

P. 3. l. 2. The evidence of inspiration and miracles, in favour of revelation; as proving that the wisdom and power of God were exerted in its establishment, is asserted by Origen: see Serm. on Oper. H. Ghost, p. 401. n. p. 133. l. 16. As these are the attributes, to a knowledge of which the mind rises, from an investigation of the divine operations, as well in the scheme of his ordinary as his extraordinary providence; the analogy is thus strictly preserved between revealed and natural religion. The difference between them, in this respect, is reducible to the simple consideration, that the operation is natural, in the one case, and supernatural in the other; the Divinity, at the one time, acting immediately by himself, and at the other by the intervention of secondary causes: see Bampt. Lectures for 1833, p. 366. n. on p. 13. l. 10.

The philosophical reasoners on the being and nature of God have particularly distinguished his attributes of power and wisdom, as deducible from the observation of his operations. Thus Bacon supposed, that in the work of creation, there was a double emanation of virtue from the Deity; who created matter in a moment by his *power*, but took six days to dispose it by his *wisdom*. Adv. of Learn. b. i. Works, vol. ii. p. 434. c. De Augm. Scient. lib. i. vol. i. p. 46. b. And Boyle, rising from the observation of final causes to the knowledge of God, founds the proof of his existence, on the evidence of those attributes in the works of the

creation. "The Cartesian way of considering the world," he observes, "is very proper indeed to show the greatness of God's power, but not like the way I plead for, to manifest his wisdom and beneficence. For whereas the Cartesian does but show, that God is admirably *wise* upon the supposition of his existence; in my way the same thing is manifested by the effect of a wisdom as well as power, that cannot be reasonably ascribed to any other than a most intelligent and potent being." Disquis. on Fin. Caus. Works, vol. iv. p. 522.

P. 7. l. 5. See Bampt. Lect. ut supr. p. 367. n. on p. 14. l. 3.

Ibid. l. 13. Vid. ibid. p. 369. n. on p. 21. l. 6.

Ibid. l. 25. The rule of the critic, as founded on the principles of sound taste, is consonant to the dictates of reason;

> Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit.

The observation of the commentator has a wider application, than he seems to have anticipated, in limiting it to compositions of a higher character. "Su le tracce d'Aristotile, ci avverte Orazio di non ricorrere indifferentemente al poco ingegnoso espediente esterno di far correre una Deità in macchina per isciogliere un nodo, troppo inconsideratamente avviluppato; quando esso non ne sia degno. Ma egli non c'insegna quali circostanze debba avere cotesto nodo per meritare d'esser disciolto da un Nume. Aristotile vuol che basti la necessità d'informare il popolo di cose antecedenti, o posteriori alla rappresentazione, ignorate dagli nomini, ma note solamente agli Dei, che tutto sanno . . . . . io non saprei a qual canone, o a quale esempio autorevole attenermi per far uso regolare delle macchine suddette, se non mi determinassi a credere, che la grandezza, e la maestà d'un Soggetto:" &c. Note di Metastas, all' Art. Poet. Oper. tom. x. p. 279. These observations, from the force of which no change of time or country can detract, may be commended to the consideration of those who claim for a standing power of miracles in their church, to which appeals continue to be made, in proof of her divine authority, on the most light and frivolous occasions. When tried by the rule of taste, the incongruity of such pretensions is sufficiently glaring; how strange, that when submitted to

the severe test of religion, their absurdity should wholly elude observation!

P. 11. l. 17. The difference between the methods of the divine dispensation, in which, the crisis of an event is positively predestined, and a limit fixed within which it will be brought to pass, is discussed in Nolan on the Millennium, p. 90. In the case of the great consummation it is there shewn, from scriptural authority, to depend on the difference of the economical government committed to the Son, and the monarchical reserved to himself by the Father. The distinction is virtually acknowledged by the Jews, though deduced by them from fallacious principles. The authorities of their writers upon the subject are collected by Cramer, Theolog. Israel. p. i. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 274, although he labours, with the prejudice and pertinacity of a fatalist, to prove them equally false in their grounds and consequences. As we might reasonably suppose, their deductions partake of the inveterate and pernicious errors of their theology: however just in the conclusion, it is drawn from wrong premises. The substance of their opinions, with respect to the time of their redemption by the Messiah, as deduced from Abarbanel, is thus stated by Cramer, ibid. p. 276. "Distinguunt inter *terminos*, *unum* dicunt אמשרות *possibilitatis* adventus ejus, videlicet, cùm meriti fuerint Israelitæ, ac fecerint pœnitentiam coram Deo, tunc enim valdè maturaturum esse credunt, et anteversurum adventum suum; *alterum* vocant חיוב *necessitatis* adventus ejus, tempore isto apud Deum fixo et noto futuri, etiamsi Israelitæ non fuerint purgati neque egerint pœnitentiam, *terminum enim hunc determinatum nullo pacto transiliri* posse." Ita Abarbanel Rosch Amana, cap. ix. They would have erred less from their scope, had they substituted their impenitence and infidelity, as the moving cause which induced God to delay the gracious purpose, to which he was disposed of his mere good pleasure towards them, through the merits and mediation of a Redeemer.

P. 15. l. 11. The difficulty of conceiving, how events not absolutely determined may be foreknown, is not a little increased, on the supposition of those who acknowledge the freedom, which is inseparable from the notion of man, as a moral accountable agent. On the hypothesis of the advocates of predestination,

that all events are directly referable to God, as their author; the result is necessarily discoverable, not merely as foreknown, but as purposed. But on the supposition of the assertors of human freedom, who conceive man left unembarrassed in his choice of different courses; to determine that which he will take has been deemed, on the one hand, irreconcileable with the certainty of the divine prescience; as such certainty has been conceived, on the other, subversive of human freedom. The difficulties which embarrass the subject, or the modes of considering it, are effectually removed, and the sophistry with which they are sustained refuted, by Wollaston Relig. of Nat. sect. v. § 18. p. 102. seq. He has particularly shewn the fallacy, in which it is assumed, that the knowledge of any event possesses an influence in accomplishing it: and has exposed the blunder in the method of deduction, by which the cause and effect are confounded with each other. As he justly decides, the event, in being the object of knowledge, is properly the cause of the prescience; whereas it is mistaken for the effect of it, in the reasonings of the predestinarian.

Those who from their repugnance to make God the author of evil, recognize its source in the abuse of the freedom of man; and who are consequently embarrassed with the difficulty of reconciling the certainty of the divine prescience with the contingency of human election: will at least admit the difficulty to have its weight in raising the character of prophecy, as giving evidence, in its anticipation of futurity, of the divine interposition. By no quality does it appear to be raised so nearly to a level with miracles; whereby this end is supposed to be directly accomplished. The effect, when they are performed, requires but the exertion of extraordinary power: but does not, involve an implied impossibility, as when the result of contingency is certainly predicted.

P. 16. l. 15. For an account of the distribution of time, amongst the Hebrews, by the sabbatical year, the reader may be referred to Leusden, Philol. Hebræomixt. diss. xli. p. 287. Leidek. de Rep. Hebræor. lib. v. c. 12. p. 313. Some idea may be obtained of it from the terms in which it was enjoined by the sacred legislator. "And the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto

them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you, for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee. And for thy cattle, and for the beast that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat." Lev. xxv. 1—7.

The determination of the epoch and succession of the years, thus described may be found in Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. v. p. 374. seq. Petav. Rat. Temp. p. ii. c. 7. p. 70. seq. From ascertaining, on historical and chronological authority, that the years coincident with J. P. 4551. 4579. 4677, were sabbatical; the entire series of the years, so termed, has been accurately distributed. As each year of the series is, on the same principles, directly reducible to its equivalent in the Julian Period: it has been discovered, that the order of any year or its relation to that which was observed as sacred, may be determined, by dividing it by seven,—the number of years, in the sabbatical cycle. On observing which process, if there be a remainder, it will express the number of the year in the series, but if there be none, it will shew that the year was sacred: in either case, however, the commencement of the year, of which the character is sought, must be dated from the autumn of the Julian year, which is subjected to division: vid. Scalig. Emend. Temp. ibid. p. 362. d. 375. d. Des-Vignolles Chronol. de l'Hist. Sainte. tom. i. p. 736.

To illustrate this rule, by an example: the year in which Judas Maccabeus was besieged by Antiochus Eupator, as appears from Josephus and the book of Maccabees, was sabbatical, and occurred in the year 149 of the era of the Seleucidæ, identified with J. P. 4551. On dividing this number by seven, the remainder 1 indicates, that the first year of the sabbatical cycle commenced in the autumn of this year; which was consequently sabbatical from

the preceding autumn. From the determination of the character of this one year, that of any other is necessarily determinable, by the continual addition or subtraction of seven;—the number of years in a cycle.

A difficulty has indeed arisen in deciding the epoch, from whence the first of the series of sabbatical cycles should be dated. But it is at once removed, when the true date of the Exodus is determined; a mistake in the calculation of which has created the main difficulty, that has prevented its being discovered. From the year of the departure from Egypt, as might be naturally supposed, the entire series of sabbatical years, as separately computed, or as compounded in the jubilees, is regularly deducible: see n. to p. 31. l. 2.

In the preceding Lectures, it has been deemed expedient, to compute the course of time in years of the Christian era. To render the advantages which accrue from the preceding observations available, it may be necessary to point out the method in which the years of that era may be reduced to the Julian Period. This is at once done, by *subducting* them from 4714, if before Christ; and by *adding* to them the same number save one, if after Christ. By this process the year B. C. 1492, which expresses the true time of the Exodus, proves identical with J. P. 3222; and A. D. 34. which expresses the true era of the crucifixion, is found to correspond with J. P. 4747. On the application of the preceding principles, it is equally found, that the former event occurred in the middle of the *first* year, and the latter in that of the *seventh* year, of the sabbatical series; as the order of those years was observed from Moses to Judas Maccabeus.

P. 21. l. 12. The predominance of what may be termed the *sabbatical* principle, through the entire system of the computation of time among the Jews, is apparent from the institution of their religious festivals. As prescribed by Moses, they were so ordered as to return after an interval of *seven* periods; whether computed by days, weeks, months, years or septennial cycles. Such was the Sabbath which returned after seven *days*, Exod. xx. 10: the feast of Pentecost, after seven *weeks*, Exod. xxiii. 16: the feast of Tabernacles, after seven *months*, Lev. xxiii. 34: the Semitah, after seven *years*, Exod. xxiii. 10, 11: and the Jubilee, after seven *septenaries*, Lev. xxv. 8.

Of these festivals, it is observable to a greater or lesser degree, that they had a prospective as well as a retrospective significance. It was conceived, that in them was preserved a memorial of the state of man before the fall, on the institution of the primitive Sabbath; and that they gave promise of his restoration to innocence and happiness in a future Sabbatism, which was reserved by God for his people: see Leusden, ibid. diss. xli. p. 288. They were, on this account, adapted to the purpose of festivals; and accordingly appointed to be sanctified by rest, and celebrated with rejoicing. In some the emancipation from the bondage of Egypt was commemorated; but as that deliverance was intended to give the Israelites an opportunity of entering into the promised rest; in their dedication to such a purpose, the ultimate object of their institution was not forgotten.

Besides the religious purposes which they thus tended to secure, they were rendered conducive to civil uses, in which the same object was kept equally in view. The land into which they were conducted, with the promise of enjoying that rest, was given to them, not as proprietors, but as occupants. The property in the soil God had expressly reserved to himself, in declaring; "the land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine: ye are strangers and sojourners with me." Lev. xxv. 23. They were thus led to look upon themselves in the light in which their forefathers had regarded themselves: instead of fixing their desires upon earthly and transitory possessions, they were led to aspire after heavenly and everlasting. Like them, "they died in faith not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off . . . . and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims upon earth. For," as the apostle concludes, "they that say such things declare that they seek a country. And, truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desire a better country, that is a heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city." Heb. xi. 13—16.

In the terms on which the land was taken and held in possession, it was provided, that these objects should be constantly kept in remembrance. Independent of the observance of the sabbatical year, which was a formal surrender of the land into his hands,

from whom it was received; a provision was made, that "at the end of every seven years, they should make a release: Every creditor that lent ought unto his neighbour should release it: he should not exact it of his neighbour, or of his brother: because it was called the Lord's release," or rather "a release to the Lord." Deut. xv. 1. 2.

At the expiration of seven of those periods, in the year of jubilee, this release was rendered more complete. Then all contracts necessarily expired; servants were made free, and possessions, however alienated, returned to the original owners. The law under which this general remission was proclaimed, throughout the entire land, was expressed in the following terms: "And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubile to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you, and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. A jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed. For it is the jubile; it shall be holy unto you: ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field. In the year of this jubile ye shall return every man unto his possession." Lev. xxv. 8—13.

On the principle thus developed, which pervades the entire Levitical Dispensation, the different events depend, which supply the dates of the prophecies termed chronological: in which the time is not only determined for the deportation and restoration of the Jews; but the destinies of the Church revealed, from its admission into a temporal rest in Canaan, to its advancement to an everlasting in Heaven. During the lapse of years, which intervene between its first foundation and triumphant establishment; the succession is given a dependance on the sabbatical distribution of time, and measured by years into which it is distributed.

## LECTURE II.

P. 29. l. 23. In the chronological computations adopted in the scale prefixed to this work, and followed in the course of it, I have adhered to the system of Archbishop Ussher, with few and inconsiderable exceptions. Of his learned and judicious digest of the science, which was generally adopted by the learned on its appearance, an able vindication may be found in the Preface of the Geneva editors to Petavius's "Rationarium Temporum." From the employment of a test, which has been discovered by me in the ancient cycles, and which may be applied to detect the errors of chronologists; I am enabled to pronounce, after a patient and protracted examination, on the decided superiority of the great work of my learned compatriot, to every system by which it has been preceded or followed. Among the cycles, which may be employed for the forementioned purpose, the sabbatical occupy a distinguished rank: in the coincidences which they have contributed to bring to light, in the course of the discussion pursued in these Lectures, superabundant evidence appears, to justify the predilection which this note expresses.

P. 31. l. 2. Among the few dates in which I have found occasion to deviate from the authority of Abp. Ussher that of the Exodus is included: in referring which to the year B. C. 1491, he has advanced it one year beyond the proper epoch. The objections raised to it by M. Des-Vignolles appear to be unanswerably conclusive: vid. Chronol. ut supr. tom. i. p. 579. On transferring it to the preceding year, his objections are not only cleared, but those which are applicable to the date, by which he proposes to supersede it. Comp. Des-Vign. ibid. p. 560.

In the year B. C. 1492, J. P. 3222, to which a preference is here given, all the chronological characters are found to meet, which can be supposed to have existed in this extraordinary epoch. Among the principal may be distinguished the facility with which the entire series of sabbatical years and jubilees may be deduced from it. According to the rule, already proposed, for determining the correspondent sabbatical year to any given

year of the Julian Period; if the forecited date 3222, be divided by 7, it leaves 2, as a remainder. In the coincident year, B. C. 1492, the *second* year of the sabbatical series must have consequently commenced from *autumn*. But the Exodus having occurred in the *spring* of the same year; it necessarily fell in the *first* year of the series: the *second* not having commenced before the following autumn. And as the beginning of the year, before the departure from Egypt, was uniformly computed from that season: the commencement of the year in which it took place, must be dated from the autumn of that which occurred B. C. 1493, J. P. 3221. From the consideration that this date expresses the beginning of the *first* year of the sabbatical series, it follows, that the entire succession of those years may be deduced from it, as an epoch. Comp. n. on p. 33. l. 29.

The observation may be extended to the succession of jubilee years. If from the preceding epoch, two periods, of 49 years each, are taken in descent, we shall arrive at the years J. P. 3270 and 3319 to which, on allowing for the error of a year in Ussher's computation the following observations are annexed by that learned chronologist. A. J. P. 3270. "*Annus septimus* a terrâ primùm ab Israelitis coli cœpta, idemque *primus sabbaticus* in eâ ab illis actus: quum à Jesu typico *in requiem* fuissent adducti, quæ Sabbatismi populo Dei per verum Jesum acquirendi umbra erat et figura. Heb. iv. 8. 9. Atque hinc annorum *Jubilæorum*, sive quinquagesimorum, *epocha est deducenda*. Lev. xxv. 8—13." Usser. Annal. p. 40. "A. P. J. 3319. Jubilæus *primus* in terrâ actus." Id. ibid. p. 42. To this arbitrary assumption of the epoch of the jubilees the author was reduced, in consequence of the error of a year, committed by him, in fixing the date of the Exodus; from which it thus appears, on his own showing, they are regularly deducible.

The controversy, on the epoch of the sabbatical years, and jubilees, appears to be thus satisfactorily settled: vid. Des-Vignol. ubi supr. tom. i. p. 728. seq. That maintained on the length of the latter cycle, has been decided by Prof. Frank, in his Prælus. Chronol. in Cycl. Jobel. detect. Götting. 1774. In his discovery of the equation of solar and lunar time, in that cycle, the grounds of its institution are detected; 49 years of the former

time exceeding 50½ of the latter, by merely 1 d. 3 h. it was obviously accommodated to the celestial motions.

From a computation founded on a calculation of the time of the Paschal, or vernal new moon, in the year of the departure from Egypt; the commencement of the ecclesiastical year, when the Exodus took place, must be dated from the evening of Wednesday, April 9th, B. C. 1492, and that of the civil year from Friday, Oct. 11. B. C. 1493. In the antecedent date, all the chronological characters are discoverable, which are supposed to have concurred at that remarkable epoch: see Des-Vignol. ubi supr. tom. i. p. 678. It is besides free from the objections which apply to the date proposed by this learned chronologist. Ibid. p. 560. And it receives the most extraordinary confirmation from the Egyptian Chronology, as digested, according to the Great Lunisolar Cycle, on the principles suggested in "the Ancient Chronicle;" which is preserved in Syncellus, and appears to have been followed by Manetho. According to this writer, the expulsion of the captive shepherds must have taken place between the reigns of Tothmosis, son of Miphra Tothmosis and Amenophis Memnon: vid. Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1040. e. f. 1052. c. d. It appears from the succession of the eighteenth dynasty, that the former of these kings was succeeded by the latter in the year B. C. 1492: and conformably to the statement of Manetho, must have been consequently the Pharaoh who perished, in the Red Sea, that very year, if the preceding chronology be admitted to be just.

It further appears from an inscription in a chapel erected by him, between the fore paws of the Great Sphinx, near the pyramids of Ghizeh, and bearing a date corresponding with Nov. 18th B. C. 1493: that stupendous monument was dedicated by him,—upon the great festival of the Recovery of Osiris, which fell on Athor 19th,—just five months before his unsuccessful expedition in pursuit of the Israelites.

P. 31. l. 5. The date of the Exodus being ascertained and fixed at Thursday, April 24th, B. C. 1492; that of the birth and weaning of Isaac may be easily determined. The departure of the Israelites having succeeded the Call of Abraham 430 years, Exod. xii. 41. Ed. Genev. in Rat. Temp. ut supr. p. [49.]: the latter event consequently occurred Thursday, April 23rd, B. C. 1922.

Abraham was then 75 years of age, Gen. xii. 4: and in 25 years from that time, when he was 100, Isaac was born, B. C. 1897, Gen. xxi. 5. It was, however, the custom of the Hebrews to wean their children the fifth year: Hier. Trad. in Gen. on taking so many years from the date of his birth, we arrive at the year B. C. 1892, for the festival in which that event was celebrated, Gen. xxi. 8. Between the two dates thus ascertained—the weaning of Isaac, B. C. 1892, and the delivery of the Israelites from Egypt, B. C. 1492,—there are precisely 400 years.

The cardinal dates of the Divine Legation of Moses and Divine Vocation of Abraham, on which the foregoing computation is founded, receive demonstrative proof from the circumstance of being thus found to have fallen upon *Thursday*. Upon that day Scaliger had shown after Origen, the departure from Egypt took place: vid. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. i. p. 573. Comp. p. 575. The two events are described by the sacred historian as having occurred, after an interval of 430 years, upon "the *self same day*," Exod. xii. 41. The departure of Abraham from Charran in Chaldea must have consequently happened upon *Thursday*. It might be easily shewn, if my limits permitted, that the years in this computation were calculated according to the Chaldean mode of equating time, and from the observation of the equinox on which the calendar was founded. The difference between the Chaldee and Egyptian date, is precisely conformable to that which was observed by the different nations, in computing the commencement of the day from evening or morning: Conf. Censorin. de Die Nat. cap. xxiii. Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 3. p. 136. The mode of equating the year, I have elsewhere shewn, was admitted to have been brought into Egypt, by Abraham or Joseph. Bampt. Lect. p. 436. n. on p. 195. l. 25. It was equally allowed, that with it Moses was perfectly acquainted. Bampt. Lect. p. 381. n. on p. 49. l. 22.

P. 31. l. 23. It may be inferred from the declaration of the sacred historian, Gen. xxi. 8. 14, and the offence given by the mockery of Ishmael; that his expulsion from his father's roof, directly followed the day kept to celebrate the weaning of Isaac: it is most probable upon the very next day. The day of the festival, it may be therefore concluded, was distinguished by the

revelation made by God to Abraham; which limited, to Isaac, the promise made to his seed; and thus laid the foundation for computing the period of 400 years, on the expiration of which its accomplishment might be expected. "And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice: *for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.*" Gen. xxi. 12.

It is, therefore, with the most perfect consistency, that the time of the Peregrination for 400 years, should be computed from a festival, celebrated with so much solemnity, and distinguished by the limitation of the Promise, to the individual in whom it began to be fulfilled, in an express revelation from the Almighty.

As not only confirmed to Abraham's seed, but limited to Isaac, it cannot be consistently antedated or postponed to the memorable day, in which it proves, by computation, to have fallen. If dated previously, it could not, at the time, have at all included him to whom it was confined; if subsequently, it must have excluded him, for some time, after it had become capable of being fulfilled. The observation may be extended to the enmity, with which the Promise led the seed to expect, they would be oppressed, until the time of their deliverance from the bondage in Egypt. By the preference shown to Isaac, the jealousy of Ishmael was excited: and in the punishment with which this hostility and contempt were consequently visited; when he was not merely disinherited, but driven from his father's home; the foundation was laid for that enmity between their respective descendants to which the prediction expressly alluded. It is besides observable, that Ishmael was not merely the son of an Egyptian, Gen. xvi. 3. 11, but took an Egyptian to wife, ibid. xxi. 21. His posterity were thus included with sufficient propriety, within the terms of the judgment denounced against the oppressors of Isaac and his seed, from which they were promised deliverance, when the 400 years should expire: see Act. vii. 5, 6.

P. 31. l. 27. The testimony of St. Paul is express, that the interval of 430 years intervened between the Law and the Promises. Gal. iii. 16. 17. The 30 years, by which this period exceeds the interval of 400 years, of which we have given the

computation, were the years that intervened between the time when Abraham at the age of 75 was called from Charran, and at the age of 105, received a renewal of the Promise, on the weaning of Isaac. The grounds, on which the chronological computation of these dates is established, may be seen ably stated by the Geneva editors in their Præf. in Petav. Rat. Temp. p. [47.] seq. Conf. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. l. iii. c. 11. p. 177.

P. 33. l. 29. See n. p. 31. l. 2. On reducing the year B. C. 1892, as directed above, n. on p. 16. l. 15, to the Julian Period, it proves coincident with its year 2822; and on dividing this number by 7, it leaves a remainder of 1; and thus proves, that with the autumn of J. P. 2822, the first year of the sabbatical cycle commenced. From this epoch, of consequence, the series of those cycles which succeeded might be regularly deduced.

The same has been already proved to be the case with the year B. C. 1492; in which the Israelites departed from Egypt; the commencement of which must be dated from the preceding autumn: vid. supr. n. on p. 31. l. 2.

In the interval of 400 years, by which those remarkable epochs are separated, there are precisely 57 sabbatical cycles, and the fraction of six months; which arises from the transfer of the beginning of the year at the Exodus, from the autumn to the spring following. Exod. xii. 2. Usser. Annal. P. i. p. 21. As the beginning of the sabbatical cycles was always computed from the commencement of the civil year, in autumn; it was incapable of being more nearly equated to the commencement of the sacred year, in spring; which was wholly unknown to the Hebrews, before its institution, on their deliverance from Egypt: vid. Leusd. ut supr. p. 219. p. 275.

This deliverance was, from its nature, constituted to form the proper epoch of the sabbatical festivals, in which it was subsequently commemorated; and when it is referred to the true year, it forms an epoch from which they are regularly deducible: vid. supr. n. to p. 31. l. 2. What has been asserted of the new moon, from whence it is dated, is particularly applicable to the year, in which it occurred; that "the spirit of the Lord was upon Moses, expressly sent, to announce liberty to the captive, to publish the acceptable year of the Lord." Des-Vignol.

Chron. ut supr. p. 616. As deputed to this office, he acquired the title of Deliverer, among the Christians as well as the Jews; by whom he was equally considered a type of the Messiah. To this effect, De Dieu, in commenting on the following passage of the Acts, "This same Moses, whom they refused saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge? the same did God send to be a Ruler and Deliverer:" makes the following observation. "Id est, qui princeps et redemtor esset, similem phrasin vide supra, Act. v. 31. λυτρωτὴς est גואל, redemtor, quomodo hîc Vulg. et Eras. verterunt. Beza maluit liberatorem. At non fugio redemtoris nomen. Quod qui Mosi tribuit, non magis in Redemtorem Christum injurius est, quam qui eum μεσίτην, mediatorem vocaverit cum Apost. Gal. iii. 19. Utrumque ei typicè rectè convenit, et λυτρωτὴς quidem dicitur, quatenus post multa magnaque in Ægypto patrata miracula, interemptis tandem ab Angelo exterminatore Ægyptiorum primogenitis, populum Dei per sanguinem agni immunem incolumemque eduxit ac servavit. Atque ita typum exhibuit veri istius lytri, veræque redemtionis, quam per mortem primogeniti omnium creaturarum, et in sanguine agni immaculati Christi, acquisitam sibi gaudent fideles." Animadv. in Act. vii. 35. p. 61. And Cramer, after stating, on the authority of Maimonides, that the same title was at all times given to the Messiah; subjoins the following testimony which vindicates it equally to Moses. "Et Bechai, qui typum et antitypum inter se confert, fol. 63. b. 2. איך יתכן וגו׳ Non conveniebat, ut captivitate jam in Jacobo et filiis ejus inchoata, nullam mentionem Mosis, Redemtoris primi, proxime futuri faceret neque de eo vaticinaretur neque ejus prædictione eos bearet; contra redemtionem futuram, remotissimam illam, in ultimo dierum à Redemtore postremo, Messia, perficiendam memoraret." Theol. Israel. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 207. d. In the same view, it is obvious, the Israelites regarded their emancipation from Egypt. For the purpose of celebrating their deliverance, which resembled, in an extraordinary degree, that which was afterwards instituted in the jubilee, they borrowed jewels and raiment from their task-masters. Exod. xii. 35. 36. comp. x. 9. The best plea which can be offered, in palliation of the sin of Aaron, is, that he proceeded, on this supposition, to make preparations for

a festival to be celebrated according to the rites of the Egyptians: when, according to the sacred narrative, "he made a golden calf . . . . and built an altar before it, and made proclamation, and said, To-morrow is a *feast to the Lord.*" Ibid. xxxii. 4. 5. Conf. Leidek. Rep. Heb. lib. iv. c. 10. p. 225. and n. to p. 65. l. 20. The similarity between the rites then observed, and those subsequently injoined in the jubilee, the following description of that festival will sufficiently establish. "Nulla tempestas tantum gaudium publicè excitavit. Non enim modò locati in solido sunt, qui prædia sua antè alienaverant, sed *libertas quoque data omnibus servis est.* Sed horum nihil fieri ante decimam ejus mensis lucem potuit, quæ jejuniis atque expiationum festo sacra erat. Interea temporis per novem integros dies agitata publicè quædam *velut Saturnalia sunt*, de quibus Rabbi Maimonides illud refert quod scitu dignum judicavimus. Ait ille in Halach. Shemit. Veiob. cap. 10. וגו מראש. "Ab initio anni usque ad *diem expiationum* neque demittebantur servi, *neque serviebant dominis suis;* sed nec agri restituebantur. Quid igitur? *edebant, bibebantque servi, atque hilares erant*, et coronam quisque capiti suo imposuit. Mox cùm dies expiationum venisset, Senatores Sanhedrim tubis clanxêre, atque e vestigio liberi abierunt servi, et reddita dominis prædia sunt." Cunæ. Rep. Heb. c. ii. p. 10. It should be remembered, that the Israelites, on departing from Egypt, were not merely emancipated from slavery, but that they were promised an inheritance in Canaan; the term for maintaining possession of which was expressly determined, in the law given for the observance of the jubilee.

It is, however, uniformly the custom of chronologists to deduce the epoch of this festival, and of all that were considered sabbatical, from the establishment of the Israelites in the promised land. To this alternative, they were unavoidably reduced, in consequence of their failure to ascertain the exact date of the Exodus; from which, we have seen, those festivals are easily and naturally deducible. Could we even admit them to be right, in their selection of the time from which they should be computed; they cannot be deduced from it, with equal certainty, as when the date of the departure from Egypt is fixed where we have placed it, B. C. 1492.

P. 35. l. 28. The defection of the Israelites, from the true religion, to the superstitions of Canaan has afforded ground of offence and obloquy. But however incapable of being justified, it may be accounted for, on the consideration of the comparative estimate which a rude people were likely to form of a Dispensation, which was at once novel, and exposed them to considerable restraints; and a ritual, which laid claim to a high antiquity, and recommended itself by its licentious character. The consecrated groves, which were the scenes of this depraved superstition, were conceived and planned after the remembrance of what had been transmitted of Paradise: the abominations, for which they were notorious, having been founded upon the perverted tradition of the circumstances which had attended the fall of Adam. Some notion may be formed of their enormity, from the accounts which have been preserved of the rites and worship of Priapus; who was the descendant of the Baal of the Phenicians, or was the same god, transplanted from an eastern to a western soil: see Nolan's Assyr. Expect. of Great Deliverer, p. 104. seq. They pretended to an antiquity coeval with the state of innocence; and were universally prevalent, when the Israelites, under the guidance of Moses, reached the borders of Canaan, where they flourished as in a congenial clime. Ibid. p. 20. 74. seq. 268. seq. conf. Seld. de Diis Syr. synt. i. c. 5. p. 162. ii. c. 2. p. 236.

The Jewish Religion, in its ordinances and festivals, was preparatory to a Great Sabbatism; it consequently gave promise of a Great Restitution to the state of innocence and happiness from which man had fallen, by transgression. The Phenician superstition was on the contrary, founded upon the state after the fall; to the sensual gratifications, of which it professed to restore its votarists. It must be, therefore, matter of comparatively little surprise, that a gross and carnal people should have given a preference to a system, which not only pretended to a higher antiquity, and was more generally received; but commended itself by the licentious rites, with which it addressed itself to the passions, and which it injoined as acts of religious worship.

P. 36. l. 22. See n. on p. 21. l. 12. The connexion, which Christians are accustomed to trace, between the Creation of the world

and its Regeneration, is not unknown to the Jewish writers. It has been recognised, by both, in the mystic significancy of the Sabbath, and the analogy acknowledged to exist between the first and second Adam. In allusion to the title of Deliverer, applied by the Jews to the Messiah, Cramer observes, " R. Abraham Hispanus in Tzeror hammor. sect. Ber. ubi Adamum primum secundi typum constituit, ait: בששת ימי וגו'. ' In sex diebus Creationis *Redemtio* nostra *adumbratur*; cumprimis in die sexto, quo Adamus creatus est: ubi gentes mundi non designantur, sed *Mysterium Adami est Mysterium Messiæ*, uti dicitur, Dan. vii. 13. Tanquam filius hominis veniebat." Theol. Israel. lib. ii. c. i. p. 208. In the same analogy, the reason of the institution of the Sabbatical year, as a time dedicated to rest, had been discovered by Leusden; " Si mysticè *hanc quietem* consideremus, dicendum est quod Deus voluerit eis repræsentare *statum integritatis Adami ante lapsum*, in quo spontaneis tantùm fructibus vescebatur. Deus voluit eos docere ne nimiùm laboribus suis confiderent; sed ut se providentiæ divinæ subjicerent, utque crederent Deum posse se sine externo illo labore sustentare. Deus voluit hâc ratione adumbrare *æternum illud Sabbathum*, scil. vitam æternam, ubi omnes labores et miseriæ presentis vitæ, et creditorum crebræ et exosæ exactiones et emunctiones finem habebunt, debitaque omnia in hoc mundo contracta gratis credentibus dimittentur. Vide Thummium de festis." Philolog. Hebræo-mixt. diss. xli. p. 288.

P. 37. l. 16. The series of sabbatisms and jubilees being deduced from the commencement of the year of the Exodus, B. C. 1493: not only the year B. C. 1450, in which the Israelites *entered* Canaan, proves to have been sabbatical; but that B. C. 1444, which was first *observed* by them, as such, was the first jubilee: Vid. Usser. ut supr. n. to p. 31. l. 2. From whichever of the last two years, the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land is dated; in it, the promise of God to bring them into a sacred rest, was literally accomplished. In every succeeding sabbatism, they alone were to blame, if it was not brought into effect; the succession of those festivals having been wonderfully accommodated, to render it available to endless generations; without which, it had been beneficial only to the original settlers;

see n. on p. 21. l. 12. In a sense thus comprehensive the argument of the Apostle must be understood. Heb iv. 1—11. I have elsewhere shewn, that his reasoning equally embraces the case of the spiritual and the carnal Israelites. Diss. on Millen. p. 91. seq.

P. 38. l. 18. See n. to p. 21. l. 12.

P. 40. l. 22. It appears from the testimony of Amos, that he prophesied " in the days of Uzziah King of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, the king of Israel." Amos, i. 1. The date of his prophecy is supposed to be fixed by his predicting the remarkable fact, that great eclipses would occur at the time of the principal festivals: which, according to Archbishop Ussher, took place in the years B. C. 791. 771. and 770. comp. Amos, viii. 7—10. Usser. Annal. p. 79. Whist. VI. Dissert. p. 219. As it was uttered two years previously to its accomplishment; it must be referred to the year B. C. 793: and must have thus preceded the invasion of Israel, by Salmanasar, 69 years.

As the interval marked, by the preceding dates extended from the 17th to the 41st year of Uzziah, and from the 31st to the end of Jeroboam; it included the principal part of the time assigned to the prophetical ministry of Hosea. A prediction of this prophet, in alluding to the ransom paid by Menachem, king of Israel, to the king of Assyria, is supposed to identify its date with the year B. C. 771. Comp. Hos. v. 13. 2 Kings, xv. 19. 20. 1 Chron. v. 26. Usser. Annal. p. 83. It thus preceded the invasion of Salmanasar 56 years.

On the forementioned prophecy of Amos, Whiston observes; " The earliest eclipses that appear to have been foretold among mankind are these two eclipses of the sun, which, with an earthquake are prophesied by Amos, as *signals of the approaching captivity* of the ten tribes by the Assyrians." Dissert. ubi supr.

P. 41. l. 9. Is. i. 1. The extraordinary vision of " the Lord sitting upon a throne," which Isaiah beheld, is referred by him to the last year of king Uzziah, Is. vi. 1: and consequently occurred B. C. 758. Of it Ussher observes, " Jubilæus decimus quartus: quo vidit Esaias gloriam Domini, sedentis in solio et stipati satellitio Angelorum τρισάγιον accinentium; obdurato dein-

ceps et occæcato magis ac magis populo Judaico, ne intelligeret verba Prophetarum et converteretur et sanitas obveniret ei." Esai. vi. Johann. xii. 40. 41. Annal. p. 85. b.

P. 42. l. 5. On collating Isaiah, vii. 1. 2 Kings, xv. 37, 38, it appears, that the first of the predictions of that prophet, which foretold the downfall of Israel, was delivered in the first year of king Ahaz; who ascended the throne B. C. 742. Usser. Annal. p. 88. After reigning *sixteen* years, 2 Kings, xvi. 2, he was succeeded by his son Hezekiah B. C. 726. Usser. ibid. p. 95. With the *fifth* year of this king, the term of the prediction closed B. C. 721. Usser. ibid. p. 98. The prophecy which was delivered in the year B. C. 742, was consequently divided into portions of *sixteen* and *five* years, by the year B. C. 726: which was distinguished by the termination of the idolatrous reign of Ahaz, with his death; and the accession and reformation of Hezekiah: see n. to p. 48. l. 7.

P. 42. l. 21. Vid. Usser. Annal. ad ann. A. C. 742. p. 89.

P. 44. l. 1. See n. to p. 45. l. 4.

Ibid. l. 27. Hoshea ascended the throne of Israel in the *twelfth* year of Ahaz, then ending, B. C. 730. 2 Kings, xvii. 1. Usser. Annal. p. 94. His *ninth* year consequently fell in the year B. C. 721. Usser. ibid. p. 98. The interval, measured by the two numbers, and amounting to *twenty-one* years, consequently agrees with the *sixteen* and *five* years, foretold by the prophet: comp. n. on p. 42. l. 5. The events, which distinguished this remarkable epoch, are thus recorded by Ussher. "Sub finem anni tertii obsidionis, regnique Ezekiæ sexti et Hoseæ noni, Samariam cepit Salmanasar: et deportavit Israëlitas in ditionem suam; collocavitque in Chalacho, Chabore, Nehar-gozane, (quo Perææ incolas, sive duas tribus et dimidiam trans Jordanem, priùs transtulerat Tiglath-pileser; 1 Chron. v. 26.) et in civitatibus Mediæ. 2 Reg. xvii. 6. et xviii. 10. 11. ἀναρχία enim, quæ ante regiam potestatem Dejoci traditam apud Medos obtinuit, opportunitatem Assyrio ministraverat ad civitates eorum occupandas . . . . . Atque hic finis fuit regni Israëlitici; postquam 254 annis stetisset, a regno Judæ sejunctum." Annal. p. 98.

P. 45. l. 4. The original Hebrew reads, without any variation,

Is. viii. 8. ובעוד ששים וחמש שנה: In which the unusual order ascribed to the numerals, if there were no other reason, would lead us to suspect an error of transcription; the genius of the Hebrew requiring the lesser number to be prefixed to the greater, as in the phrase, Gen. v. 27. כל ימיו תשע ששים שנה, "all his days are *nine* and *sixty* years: vid. Mascl. Gram. Heb. vol. i. p. 271. The integrity of the text being so far suspicious, the restoration of the true reading becomes not merely probable but necessary, from the very commonest of the canons of criticism. The harshness of the phrase, "*sixteen* and five," for which we have seen there was good ground, would naturally induce the supposition, that it was an error, "for *sixty* and five." The one would be consequently substituted for the other; more particularly, as the alteration was suggested by the peculiarity of the orthography. On the latter ground alone, Vitringa contends for the restoration of the passage to that state, which is not less required by the truth of history, than the credit of the prophet. "In Apographo scribarum sacrorum sic exaratum fuit, per compendium ובעוד שש י' וחשמש שנה, 'Et adhuc sedecim et quinque anni, et atteretur Ephraim,' &c. pro eo quod plenè scribi debebat, ובעוד שש עשרה וחשמש שנה sc. litera י per compendium scripta pro עשרה *decem*, cujus numeri nota est. Librarii jam qui discripserunt, acceperunt literam י tanquam partem vocis שש, cui proximè adherebat, et ex שש י' fecerunt ששים, quod olim scribebatur ששי' cum virgula supra י, ut Rabbini hodieque passim non solent exprimere ם *finale*, numeri pluralis. Sic itaque שש י' quod valet, שש עשרה *sedecem*, factum est ששים *sexaginta:* cum sententia prophetæ sit, spatio *sedecem* et *quinque* annorum, h. e. *unius* et *viginti* Ephraimum desiturum esse populum h. e. exscindendam esse Rempublicam." Com. in loc. p. 178. f. And in the justice of this emendation Bishop Newton fully acquiesces. Diss. on Proph. vol. i. p. 123.

P. 46. l. 12. Vid. Usser. Annal. p. 93. ad ann. A. C. 739.

Ibid. l. 20. See n. to p. 42. l. 5.

P. 47. l. 7. Vid. Usser. ut supr. p. 95. ad ann. A. C. 726.

P. 48. l. 7. The year in which this prophecy, declaring the downfall of Moab in three years, was delivered, was the last of the reign of Ahaz, B. C. 726: vid. supr. n. on p. 42. l. 5. It is

observed respecting it by Ussher; "Quo anno mortuus est rex Achaz, Esaias Philistæis, partem Judææ iniquè possidentibus... excidium denunciavit. Esai. xiv. à vers. 28. ad fin. similemque calamitatem Moabitis intra tres annos obventuram prædixit. Esai. xv. 1. ad xvi. 14." Annal. p. 95. See n. on p. 49. l. 27.

P. 49. l. 9. The prophecy declaring the fall of Moab received its accomplishment in the year, B. C. 724. The events which occurred in this year are thus recorded by Ussher. "Salmanasar, compertâ Hoseæ conspiratione, primùm quidem Moabitarum agrum occupavit, (ne quid à tergo relinqueret quod sibi damnosum esset aut copiis suis:) duabus summis illius civitatibus, Are et Kir-hareseth, excisis; juxta Esaiæ vaticinium, anno ante eventum tertio prædictum.... Deinde totum regnum Israëliticum pervasit: et ascendens contra Samariam, anno 4 Ezekiæ et 7 Hoseæ, (utroque ineunte) obsedit eam tribus annis. 2 Reg. xvii. 4. 5. et xviii. 9." Annal. p. 98.

Ibid. l. 27. The year B. C. 724. J. P. 3990, in which Moab fell, and the kingdom of Israel was overrun by Salmanasar, was sabbatical from autumn. As the *seventh* year of Hosea had commenced this year, 2 Kings, xviii. 9: that king necessarily began his reign in the first year of the cycle, B. C. 730. There can be, therefore, little doubt, that it is he to whom the prophet alludes under the reproachful term of "a hireling;" as it is recorded, that "against him came up Shalmeneser king of Assyria: and *Hoshea became his servant*, and gave him presents," or paid him tribute. 2 Kings, xvii. 3. Having, however, neglected to pay this impost, and entered into a conspiracy with the king of Egypt, against the Assyrian monarch; "therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison. Then the king of Assyria came up *throughout all the land*, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it *three years*." Ibid. 4. 5.

As Hosea had commenced his reign with the sabbatical cycle; at the close of it his territories were overrun, and his subjects consequently freed from their allegiance in the sabbatical year. The language of the prophet, of course, conveys the bitterest sarcasm against him; the freedom to which they were restored, at the usual term, having placed them in subjection to a foreign master, and one to whom he was a tributary and captive. It is

not improbable, that advantage was taken by Salmanasar of the year; as favouring his designs upon the dominions of Hosea. Multitudes were likely to be found, among the recently manumitted slaves, who would be induced by the desire of plunder or revenge to join the invaders, against their late masters.

P. 50. l. 18. The date and circumstances of this event, which had been so accurately fixed by the prophet, are thus recorded by the learned chronologist, to whose testimony I have referred, in support of my deductions: see n. to p. 44. l. 27.

## LECTURE III.

P. 54. l. 18. See Bampt. Lect. p. 366. n. to p. 14. l. 3.

Ibid. l. 23. See n. to p. 2. l. 9.

P. 55. l. 6. The influence of miracles, in establishing the divine authority of Revelation, was not less weakened or annulled by the imperfection of science, in earlier and ruder ages; than we have reason to believe would be likely to be the case, if they were wrought, in the present state of its advancement. At the former period, as Bishop Hurd observes, "real miracles were owned to be in the power of evil spirits; or at least the general prevalency of the persuasion amongst their heathen adversaries rendered it expedient for the Christian writers to argue on the concession of it." Rem. on Weston's Enquir. Works, vol. viii. p. 163. Conf. Lightfoot, Hor. Talm. in Matt. xxiv. 24.

There can be little doubt, that to an ignorance of science the belief in magic must be generally imputed; the mind being compelled, from an inability to trace extraordinary effects to natural causes, to ascribe them to supernatural. That the evidence of miracles should have often failed to influence the human mind is thus to be imputed to its ignorance rather than its scepticism, or to the want of force in the marvellous work to operate on its conviction. Still there are acknowledgments due to science, as laying a foundation for the experimental deductions which we

are enabled to make, in favor of Revelation. It is its business to determine, how far natural means are efficacious in producing effects, which, as surpassing the common and observed process of nature, are recognized as miraculous. Until the line is thus definitively marked between her ordinary operations and extraordinary works, it is impossible to decide how far any effect gives evidence of supernatural agency.

In proportion, however, as investigation is prosecuted, and discovery achieved, the capabilities of natural means to produce effects long regarded as extraordinary, will be necessarily developed. In the same proportion must the eviction of a miraculous agency, as deducible from the observation of extraordinary effects, be weakened or extinguished. As the mysteries of nature continue to be explored, a knowledge of such agency, as is not less subtle in the operation than sudden in the attainment of its ends, will be doubtless acquired; which will render the boundary between the natural and preternatural still more precarious and undefinable.

P. 56. l. 6. Since the process of inference by *intuition* and *induction* has been so fully explained and perfectly understood, and the absurdity of seeking *proof* in the one, and resisting *demonstration* in the other has been exposed; it is lamentable to see the shallow and pernicious sophistry of Hume, the historian, on the nature of cause and effect, revived from the corruption and gloom of the grave in which it has been long buried. It might be reasonably concluded, that to the mind which was sound in its functions, the bare statement of his principles would convey their sufficient refutation. "It being a *general maxim*," he observes, "that no objects have any discoverable connection together, and that all the inferences, which we can draw from one to another, are founded merely on our experience of their constant and regular conjunction; it is evident, that we ought not to make an exception to this maxim in favour of human testimony, whose connection with any event seems, in itself, as little necessary as any other." Essays, vol. ii. p. 112. sect. x. of Miracles. Were these putid ravings—which annihilate at a stroke, the *laws* of nature, and the *principles* of science, while they gravely proceed upon "inference" from "a general *maxim*,"—admitted,

according to the infamous design of their author; not only all inferences, in favour of Revealed Religion, from the evidence of the divine intervention in Inspiration and Miracles; and all proof of the existence of a Deity, from an observation of the works of creation, in Natural Religion, must be abandoned: but Natural Philosophy must be rejected altogether, as an incoherent tissue of illusion and fallacy.

It seems difficult to inspect the testimony, on which the miracles wrought in confirmation of our faith are admitted; but which appear to this writer as nothing better than an unnatural complication of ignorance, fraud, and credulity; without being struck with the acuteness and caution with which they were scrutinized and admitted, by those who beheld them. The principle and conclusion, from which Nicodemus inferred the divine authority of Christ, have no *direct* relation; they are, however, connected by a mode of deduction no less just than solid. From the nature of Christ's works, he inferred the co-operation of God in his ministry; as "no man could do the miracles that he did, except God were with him." John, iii. 2. On the simplest analogy, that, as earthly things were admissible on human authority, divine things are admissible on heavenly; the Jewish Rabbi not only acquiesced in the truth of what he said; but inferred, that he delivered what he taught, by the same spirit through which he wrought miracles, and that he was, of course, an inspired teacher.

The Jews, in their rejection of the miracles, from which these inferences might be drawn, erred not from scepticism as to the occurrences themselves, or in consequence of the reasonings which they built upon them; but from the perverse construction put upon the facts, on which their deductions were founded. They believed that they were wrought, not by co-operation with God, but by collusion with the powers of darkness. In perfect consistency with this opinion, they refused the teacher, and rejected his doctrine, as not being from God.

Their pertinacious demand for "a sign from heaven," effectually refutes the unjustifiable assumption, that the miracles of our Lord were received with the implicit credulity of ignorance or superstition, which this writer supposes. It has been justly observed by Bp. Hurd, though he appears to have failed in solving the

difficulty which he proposes: "It was allowed, on all hands, that many and great miracles did shew forth themselves through him: see John, vii. 31. xi. 47. But notwithstanding this, and though it was owned in the fullest manner by the chief priests and Pharisees themselves, yet we find them very pressing for *a sign*, σημεῖον [Matt. xii. 38. xvi. 1. Luke, xi. 29.] and that too, (which is very remarkable,) at *the instant* our Saviour had been working *a miracle* before them; a degree of perversity not rashly to be credited by the Jews themselves." Rem. on West. ut supr. p. 168. n. He proceeds to reconcile the apparent inconsistency, by suggesting, that independent of the miracles wrought by our Lord, a demand was made "for a test or credential of his heavenly or divine commission;" or perhaps, as he concludes, "a sensible display of the divine power, indicating, by some prodigy or appearance in the heavens, the interposition of the Divinity, for the deliverance of Israel." But the difficulty may be removed, in a manner more consonant to the views of scripture, if it be referred to the difference between the evidence directly imparted by God, and a wonder worked by collusion with Satan; between "a sign from heaven," and an intimation from hell. This distinction not only justifies the emphasis of the former phrase, but includes the instances, by which our Lord, Matt. xii. 38. 39. 40. no less than his Apostle, 1 Cor. i. 22. 23, declared, a demand so unreasonable on the part of the proposers, though denied in their sense, would be answered in another; neither of *which* instances of scripture can, by any straining, be included in the solution which the Bishop proposes. In the crucifixion of Christ, the annihilation of *his own* natural power was unanswerably implied; when he ceased to exist there could be no collusion with the powers of darkness. His resurrection from the dead, and the gift of miraculous powers with which it was succeeded, as it proved *God* a party in the great purpose which he was engaged in advancing, demonstrated that the work was achieved by the divine co-operation. On the opposition here suggested, much of the force of St. Peter's argument seems to depend, when, reasoning from the effusion of the spirit, after the ascension, he contrasts "the miracles which God did *by him*, in the midst of them, as they themselves also knew," and "the sign

which was given," when " *God* raised him up, as the Apostles were all witnesses." Acts, ii. 22. 24. 32. 36.

It is plain, therefore, the reasonings of the objector are far from novel, having been anticipated by the ignorant and credulous observers of a barbarous age, of whose discriminative powers he forms so mean an opinion: and it may be made not less palpable, that they were deemed undeserving of the least attention, in the method in which the divine dispensations were conducted. Of the co-operation of God, in the ministry of Christ, no public sign was given from heaven; by the miracles which he wrought it was fully established. The subterfuge, by which the force of this proof was evaded, was unanswerably overturned, by the purity and goodness of the end for which they were wrought. In the insinuation, that they were performed by collusion with the author of evil, the contradiction was shown to be implied, that he must have thus laboured to destroy his own power and dominion: while its absurdity was exposed, with the taunt, that if they were so performed, they might be more easily wrought by the wicked.

P. 58. l. 21. See n. on p. 59. l. 5.

P. 59. l. 5. The captivity of Jehoiachin is fixed by Ussher, B. C. 599. Annal. p. 123. From that epoch, he justly decides, by a collation of Ezekiel, ch. i. 1. 2. xl. 1, the predictions of this prophet are dated. Ibid. p. 124. The fifth year, computed from it, corresponds with that B. C. 595: from which year, to the fall of Jerusalem, B. C. 588, there are *seven* years; and to the last deportation of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 584, *eleven*. Usser. Annal. p. 131. 134. In this last mentioned year, the prediction of Ezekiel, which is before us, was accomplished. From collating Ezek. i. 2. with viii. 1. it is obvious that this prophecy, which is inserted in ch. iv. was delivered before the *fifth* year of the Captivity had expired, and the *sixth* had commenced; and that it must be consequently referred, from what has been already stated, to the year B. C. 595. As this year is coincident with the thirtieth year from the reformation under Josiah, B. C. 624: it is supposed, that to this epoch the prophet has also alluded, ch. i. 1. 2, in fixing the date of the prediction. Usser. ibid. p. 115. comp. n. on p. 62. l. 12.

P. 60. l. 20. Ezek. i. 3. iii. 15. 16. iv. 1. seq.

Ibid. l. 28. The plan proposed to the prophet, with a view to impart a more deep and lasting impression of the subject which he meant to convey, possesses a striking conformity to that which has been recommended by the professors of artificial memory. "*Places and things*," one of the last writers on the subject observes, "which have an association with any of the events and feelings of past life, will greatly assist the recollection of them." .... "Indeed it will be found upon investigation that *locality* is the most efficacious medium of reminiscence." New Art of Mem. on the Princip. of M. Von Feinagle, p. 32. "In order to remember a series of words, they are put in the several squares, or places, and the recollection of them is assisted by associating some idea of relation between *the objects* and their *situation*; and, as we find by experience, that whatever is *ludicrous* is calculated to make a strong impression on the mind, the more ridiculous the association the better." Ibid. p. 42.

P. 62. l. 5. Among the highest authorities for the canon of prophetical interpretation, by which the term "days" is taken to signify *years*, the express testimony of the inspired writers may be cited. To this effect, not only Ezekiel but Moses have been quoted in the text: who in defining a period of 40 *years*, by so many days, quote the authority of the Divinity as having "appointed *each day for a year*."

The authority and example of Daniel are not less explicit; and appear to be of themselves adequate to establish the canon. Having occasion to specify proper days, he follows the description given of them in the narrative of the creation and terms them "*mornings* and evenings:" supr. p. 117. In the same manner he distinguishes proper weeks by the explanatory phrase "weeks *of days*:" supr. p. 176. He thus reserves for the unqualified term, "weeks," the meaning of *septenaries*; in which he is justified by the authority of Moses: supr. p. 176. In this sense, in fine, it is universally allowed, the term is employed by him, in the celebrated prophecy of "the seventy weeks:" see n. on p. 177. l. 12. In the licence thus taken by him, it is necessarily implied, that *a day* was understood as equivalent to *a year*.

The foundation of a mode of expression, which thus appears to

have been common to Moses, Ezekiel and Daniel, directly suggests itself in the sabbatical cycle, and the manner in which it was equated. In the form of equable years which was employed in it, and the method in which it was intercalated, at the expiration of four cycles; the order of the *years* was so marked by the succession of the *days* of the week, that the substitution of the one for the other was obvious and natural.

While the natural year consists of 365 days, the 52 weeks, comprised in it, consist but of 364. It consequently followed, that the common, or equable year, began and ended upon the same day of the week. If, for example, the year commenced upon Sunday, it ended on Sunday; if upon Monday, it ended on Monday, and so of the rest. Hence also, it followed, that in a sabbatical cycle of seven years, each successive year began upon the following day of the week: for instance, when the first year began upon Sunday, the second began upon Monday, the third upon Tuesday; and so on, in order, until the hebdomadal cycle was completed, the seventh, or sabbatical year, commencing upon the Sabbath, or Saturday. It is thus obvious, that according to this distribution of time, by septennial cycles; every year preserved the character of its first day, or, as we should say, its new-year's day. As the days of the week, among the Hebrews, were distinguished by no name but the first, second, third, &c.: it necessarily followed, that the place of the year in the sabbatical cycle might be determined by knowing the day on which it commenced. From a principle, thus simple and obvious, which was rendered expedient by the want of a regular calendar, to determine the order not only of the years but of the weeks; the designation of the year by the day on which it commenced would naturally arise: and at the same time, give rise to the prophetical canon, in which *a day was put for a year.*

The principle appears to have equally extended to the method employed in intercalating the sabbatical cycle, to recover the time lost by the use of an unequated year. According to the previous account of the distribution of that cycle, six hours were lost every year, or one day in four. With the true length of the year, the Egyptians were, however, perfectly acquainted; their secret or sacerdotal year differing in no respect from the Julian,

with its bissextile intercalation; which was indeed borrowed by Cæsar, when reforming the calendar, and has been transmitted to us by the Romans: see Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit. vol. iii. p. 1. p. 8. seq. It is besides obvious, that this species of year was of Egyptian invention, not only from the testimony of the ancients, who have ascribed the discovery of it to the mystagogue Thoth; but from the description of the circle of Osmandyas at Thebes, which in marking the cosmical risings of the stars, must have effected it by means of an equated year. If each septenary be now considered *a season*, and *four* of them supposed to be added together in order to form *a Great Year;* on conceiving the last of them encreased a week, and extending of course to 372 days; the entire period would be equated to Julian time. It might be easily shewn that a cycle of this length, and equated in this manner, was known to the Egyptians, and was ascribed by them to the mystagogue already named. As known to the Egyptians, it must be presumed that it was familiar to Moses, who was skilled in their learning. It is, however, palpable, and has been shewn by Calvisius, that according to a year of 53 weeks in length, the course of time was computed at the deluge, if not by Noah by Moses; and the manner in which the lunar and solar revolutions are equated in the jubilee cycle of 49 *intercalated* solar, and 50½ *unintercalated* lunar years, proves as clearly, that the Hebrew lawgiver was perfectly acquainted with the Julian, or as it should be rather termed, the Egyptian mode of equation; the bissextile cycle being nothing more than the small canicular year: vid. Calvis. Isagog. Chron. c. 35. p. 191. Scalig. Canon. Isagog. l. 3. p. 270. d. Assyr. Expect. p. 185. seq. Bampt. Lect. n. to p. 49. l. 22. p. 195. l. 19. 25.

It must be plain, from the preceding observations, that, whether the common year of 365 days were employed, or the intercalated, which was extended to 372 by the insertion of a week; the forementioned disposition of the sabbatical succession would be equally preserved, and the place which a year of either kind held in the cycle would be determined by the new-year's day. In all cases, consequently, the prophetical canon, in which a day was taken to designate a year, would apply.

It is likewise deserving of remark, that the mode of expression

was equally known to the Egyptians, with the method of intercalating on which it was founded. As a year with them consisted properly of four, vid. Hor. Apol. l. ii. c. 89, in computing their Great Year, they appear to have merely reckoned the intercalary days: see Trans. of R. S. L. uti supr. p. 35. n. 122. The process observed by them is very satisfactorily explained by Scaliger. Isagog. ubi supr. p. 270. He prefaces it with the following observation, which appears of itself to justify the preceding conclusion. "Quemadmodum quadriennium Ægyptiacum est *dierum* 1460 ita magna periodus Canicularis est *annorum* Julianorum 1460." Ibid. And evidence appears, in the Great Years, which were adopted by the Hebrews; that they were indebted to their more scientific neighbours, for the knowledge which they have displayed as well as for the expressions which they used on these subjects: see n. on p. 150. l. 3.

As it is not to be disputed, that the custom of designating a *septenary* by the term "*week*," is ascribed by Moses to the patriarchs, Gen. xxix. 27. Numb. xiv. 34, by their authority, the term, as used by Daniel in the same sense, is fully confirmed. From these examples the inference would appear to be direct, that a day might stand for a year; were not the licence authorised by the phraseology of Daniel, who nicely discriminates in using the terms which designate years and days: and were it not likewise justified, by the method employed by the Hebrews, in distributing and intercalating their sabbatical years. In the authority of Daniel that of St. John necessarily merges: the Christian prophet having followed the Hebrew, not merely in using a similar licence, but in adopting the periods defined by him, and in the very numbers in which they are expressed. In a word, the term of 1260 years, ascribed to the usurpation of Antichrist, Rev. xiii, which can alone give rise to any controversy, on the application of the rule of interpretation, depends not on the authority of St. John, but of Daniel. It is in the period, fixed by the prophet, that the Evangelist merely measures the time of the preaching of the Witnesses, Rev. xi. 3, and of the flight of the woman into the wilderness, ibid. xii. 6. 14. Having been led into the track, in which Daniel had preceded; he could not, with any semblance of propriety, have deviated from his authority.

When he entered upon new ground, he had the choice of the course he might pursue; the numbers, 666, in which he fixes the time of the manifestation of Antichrist, Rev. xiii. 18; and 1000, in which he determines the reign of Christ, ibid. xx. 3. 6, consequently express proper *years*.

P. 62. l. 12. Ezek. i. 1. 2. comp. supr. n. on p. 59. l. 5. It is indeed objected, by M. Des-Vignolles, that the repetition of the day of the month betrays a corruption of the text, and points out a different epoch; which he identifies with the 35th year from the 15th of Josiah, Chron. tom. i. p. 472. If Dan. ix. 1. 2. be inspected, it will be perceived, that there is no solid ground for the objection. In deducing the same year, from different epochs, the prophet appears, on the contrary, to have been called upon to repeat, in both cases, the day of the month: that he might not be supposed to refer, under different denominations, to different years.

Ibid. l. 22. See n. on p. 69. l. 28.

P. 64. l. 1. The seventh, eighteenth and twenty-third years of Nebuchadnezzar; in which the inhabitants of Judea were draughted, in parties more or less numerous, to Babylon; are identified by Ussher respectively with the years B. C. 600. 588. 584. Usser. Annal. i. p. 123. b. 131. c. 133. d.

A difference in the computation of the years of this king of Babylon, and consequently of the events dated by them, has arisen from the different times assigned for his accession to power; by which the preceding dates are considerably affected. Des-Vignolles, dissenting from the authority of Ussher, computes the years of the Babylonian king according to the Astronomical Canon; which, it must be confessed, is of high authority and extensive utility. Chron. ut supr. tom. 2. p. 414. He proceeds upon this discrepancy, assumed as a basis, to reconstruct the entire chronology of the kings of Judah. Ibid. p. 411.

The merits of the question, which has been thus mooted, may be gathered from M. Des-Vignolles, whose statement must be received as coming from an opponent. Chron. tom. 2. p. 415. seq.

After a careful examination of the subject, I can see little security in departing from the position, occupied by Ussher. He

contends, that Nebuchadnezzar was associated with his father in the kingdom of Babylon, about two years before the date assigned to his accession to the throne in the Canon, B. C. 604, and that it is from the earlier epoch, the years of his reign are reckoned in Scripture. Its inspired authority appears to be decidedly on his side, and is confirmed by that of Berosus; from which the only light can be drawn, that pagan antiquity has shed upon the subject.

It is expressly stated by Berosus, ap. Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 13. p. 349. d, that the satrap of Syria and Egypt having revolted, Nebuchadnezzar was dispatched against him, by his father, with a body of forces; and that having encountered the rebel, he reduced him under his *royal sway*, *ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο*. In the tract against Apion, p. 1044. d, the phrase occurs with the variation, *ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐ*, but with no material effect on the sense, which is maintained by Ussher. By the latter reading, the joint dominion of the father and son is asserted; which is precisely the view taken of it by the learned primate. By the former, the regal authority of the son is established at the time of his expedition, which is all that his argument requires.

The Chaldee historian, after having spoken of the death of the father, and consequent return of the son to Babylon, declares, that he assumed his paternal government *in its integrity*, *κυριεύσας ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς*. Ibid. The dilemma in which the objector is placed by this phrase, is nearly equal to that encountered by him in the preceding. We must understand *ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου* to refer to the *Chaldean* provinces, retained by the father, or to the *Syrian*, recovered by the son. The latter, however, cannot be meant, as it is contrary to fact, that the son on his return to Babylon took possession *of them*, having *already* possessed them. If the former be intended, as we must necessarily conclude; it is implied in the phrase, that he then assumed the government *of the whole*, and had of course previously obtained a share in it.

With the preceding representation the statement of scripture perfectly accords. In it Nebuchadnezzar is termed "*king* of Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim," Dan. i. 1: while even on Des-Vignolles' own showing, this date precedes, by two years,

that assigned in the Canon to his accession: Chron. ut supr. tom. i. p. 275. J. P. 4108. 4110. Such is the whole difference which the chronological system of Ussher requires: who is thus justified in the supposition, that the years of that prince are computed in scripture, from the time of his expedition against Syria and Egypt, and not, as Des-Vignolles asserts, from his accession to the throne, on the death of his father. Comp. Des-Vignolles, tom. ii. p. 418.

It is no more than reasonable to suppose, that the natives of these countries should have computed the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, from the time when they submitted to his sway, and became acquainted with him, as their sovereign. Nothing can be, on the contrary, more unreasonable than the supposition, that they would reject, from their computation of its extent, those years with which they were best acquainted; to deduce its commencement from the later date of his succession to his father, with which,—if they had any knowledge of it,—they must have been wholly unconcerned. Yet on an assumption, no less extravagant and improbable, has M. Des-Vignolles undertaken to new model the entire system of the chronology of the Jewish monarchy! See n. on p. 98. l. 10.

P. 64. l. 16. The prophecy of Ezekiel, subjoined in the text, in which the description of the iniquity and impenitence of his countrymen is inserted, has the date prefixed to it, and proves to be "the *twelfth year of the captivity*," Ezek. xxxiii. 21. It was consequently delivered in the year after the fall of Jerusalem, which took place, in the *eleventh;* B.C. 588: just *four* years before the last deportation of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 584. See n. on p. 74. l. 20, and n. on p. 59. l. 5. It thus remains as an evidence, that the iniquity of Judah outlasted the *second* deportation; and that we must consequently look to the *third* and last, for the time when a termination was put to it, by the *final* abduction of the natives into captivity. Comp. n. to. p. 71. l. 9.

P. 65. l. 15. From the epoch of the defection of Jeroboam, the period of 390 years ascribed to the iniquity of Israel and Judah is computed by Ussher, and dated from the year B. C. 975. Annal. p. 59. d. "Jeroboam die 15 mensis 8, festo quod

ipse commentus erat, simile festo Tabernaculorum Judaico, in altari idololatrico, Bethele extructo, vitulo suo sacrificavit. [1 Reg. xii. 32. 33.] Quo tempore, Propheta quidam, ex Judæâ à Deo missus, judicium quod olim executurus esset unus è posteris Davidis, Josias nomine, in altare illud et sacerdotes, ejus denunciavit: quod et præsentibus prodigiis in altare atque Regem ipsum confirmavit. [1 Reg. xiii. cum 2 Reg. xxiii. 16. 17.] A quo Idololatriæ hujus primo exercitio, et divini in eam judicii denunciatione publicâ, arcessendum est *initium* 390 *annorum iniquitatis Israëlis.*" Ezek. iv. 5. See n. to p. 70. l. 7.

P. 67. l. 2. From the date of the reformation of the national religion by Josiah, the period of 40 years assigned to the iniquity of Judah, is deduced by Ussher, and computed from the year B. C. 624. Annal. p. 115. d. "Atque ab hâc solenni fœderis renovatione et *reformatione publicâ*, cum desolationis tamen propter peccata populi inducendæ sententiâ inevitabili conjunctâ, tùm tricesimi anni in ipso initio prophetiæ Ezechielis, tùm *quadraginta annorum peccati Judæ*, in ejusdem ca. iv. 6. epocha deducitur." See n. to p. 70. l. 13.

P. 68. l. 21. Vid. Usser. Annal. ad an. A. C. 629. p. 114. d. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. i. p. 470. d.

P. 69. l. 20. See n. to p. 59. l. 5. comp. n. to p. 74. l. 20.

Ibid. l. 29. Vid. Usser. uti supr. n. on p. 65. l. 15. p. 67. l. 2.

P. 70. l. 7. The apostasy of Jeroboam to the superstitions of Egypt is to be attributed, in a great measure, to the opinions imbibed by him, at the court of Shishak, king of that country. 1 Kings, xi. 40. The date of his defection from the true religion, from whence the period of the iniquity of Israel is computed by Ezekiel, receives an extraordinary confirmation from the great festival in which it was celebrated; which was instituted by this idolatrous prince, in imitation of the superstitions of Egypt, and after the tradition and example of the golden calf erected by Aaron. Of his apostasy the following account is given by the sacred writer:—"And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: If this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Reho-

boam king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the king took counsel, and made *two calves of gold*, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold *thy gods*, O Israel, which brought thee up out of *the land of Egypt*. And he set the one in Beth-el, and the other put he in Dan. And this thing *became a sin*, for the people went to worship before the one, even unto Dan. And he made an house of high places, and made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi. And Jeroboam ordained a feast in *the eighth month*, on the *fifteenth day* of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah, and he offered upon the altar. So did he in Beth-el, sacrificing unto the calves that he had made, and he placed in Beth-el the priests of the high places which he had made. So he offered upon the altar which he had made in Beth-el *the fifteenth day of the eighth month*, even in *the month* which he had devised of his own heart; and ordained *a feast* unto the children of Israel: and he offered upon the altar, and burnt incense." 1 Kings, xii. 26—33.

The opposition between the old and the new festival is illustrated and confirmed in an extraordinary degree, by the difference which existed, between the mode of computing the anniversaries on which they were respectively held, by the Egyptians and Hebrews. From a computation of the time of the paschal new-moon, in the year B. C. 975: the beginning of the Jewish ecclesiastical year is found to have fallen on March 25th. From a computation of the place of the neomenia Thoth, in the erratic year of the Egyptians, it appears equally, that their year began on April 25th. Between the mode of computing the year in both countries, there thus appears to have been precisely the difference of *one month*; the reckoning of the Egyptians having *preceded* that of the Hebrews, by that interval precisely.

The feast of Tabernacles, in which the custom observed by the Israelites, on their departure from Egypt, of living in booths, was commemorated, was kept on the 15th of the 7th month, Lev. xxiii. 34. 43. It was, however, transferred by Jeroboam to the 15th of the eighth, 1 Kings, xii. 33. As the festival, from the difference between the Egyptian and Hebrew reckoning, fell on

the 15th of the 7th month of the former; the grounds of the innovation introduced by Jeroboam are thus rendered apparent. In accommodating one of the Hebrew festivals to the Egyptian ritual, he naturally followed the calendar by which it was ordered. Thus it is obvious, the date of the festival was still preserved; but from the difference in the mode of reckoning, as referred to the 15th of the 7th month, *according to the Egyptians*, it fell upon "the 15th day of the 8th month" according to the Hebrews.

On making allowance for the change of the beginning of the Jewish year, at the time of the Exodus, from autumn to spring; and the method which was observed by Jeroboam in computing the course of it; some further insight may be obtained, into the specific nature of the innovation of that king, the object of which is revealed by the sacred writer, who has recorded it. The festival, which he had "devised of his own heart," must have nearly, if not altogether, coincided with the anniversary of the new-year's day; as kept about the time of the full-moon, by the Jews, at that time, after the precedent of the patriarchs, and followed by them in the computation of their subbatical periods and jubilees. It would appear, from the subjoined authorities, that in the change introduced by the idolatrous king, the feast of *Pentecost*, when the Jews offered the first fruits of their *harvest*, as well as that of *Tabernacles*, which was assimilated to the *vintage*, was contemplated. A learned antiquary thus illustrates the similarity: "Gentes aliquæ, collectis in horreum frugibus, mensas dapibus et frugibus, ad oculorum gulæque fastidium, solenniter instruebant. Hoc *Ægyptiis* aliisque in more fuisse, S. Hieronymi testimonium extra dubium ponit: 'Est in cunctis urbibus, et maximè in Ægypto et Alexandriâ, idololatriæ vetus consuetudo, ut *ultimo die anni et mensis* ejus qui extremus est, ponant mensam refertam varii generis epulis, et poculum mulso mixtum, vel præteriti anni vel futuri fertilitatem auspicantes.' Hoc etiam exemplum *ab Ægyptiis ad Judæos* antiquitus traductum videtur: sic enim Plutarchus eorum mores in festo *Tabernaculorum* vel collectionis habuisse refert: ἀκμάζοντι τρυγητῷ τραπέζας προτίθενται παντοδαπῆς ὀπώρας, ὑπὸ σκηναῖς, &c. 'Maximè *fervente vindemiâ*, proponunt mensas, in quibus expositæ sunt omnis

generis fruges *sub tabernaculis.*' E quibus hoc inter alia colligit Plutarchus, Judæos nempe Bacchum venerari, quem scil. Ethnici, tanquam fructuum tutelare numen, tali aliquo ritu coluisse videantur. Ethnicis solenne fuit, multâ cum pompâ et negotio, *primitiarum festa* celebrare. Nam Diodorus Siculus, Iseia, primitiarum festa quædam in Isidis honorem agitata, memorans, 'Apud urbes aliquas, cum Iseia celebrantur, ἐν τῇ πομπῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φέρεσθαι πυθμένας πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, 'in pompâ, tritici et hordei vascula, inter alia, circumferri' refert 'ad frugum primitùs Deæ industriâ repertarum memoriam.' Cum etiam Judæi *primitiarum oblationi* vacarent, fructus in vasculis ponebant; facto insuper agmine, et pompâ Gentilium feriantium ritus imitante, se ad Hierosolymam conferebant. Hoc apertè probatur è celebri Mishnæ testimonio, cujus explicationi, cùm occasio vocabit, operam non perfunctoriam dabo." Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. lib. iii. c. 9. diss. 1. Comp. n. to p. 70. l. 13.

It was conceived by Selden, that the similarity might be pursued still farther, and that the festival instituted by Jeroboam might be identified with that of the loss and recovery of Osiris; which were celebrated on the 17th and two following days, of the month Athyr. De Dîs Syr. Synt. i. c. 4. p. 144. But as this month formed the *third*, while the Jewish festival is referred to the *seventh* of the Egyptian calendar; it may be readily conceived, the expectation thus formed finally proved abortive.

The date of the festival, however, to which our attention is thus directed—as computed from the neomenia of Thoth, occurring April 25th—is found to have fallen upon July 9th, in the year of the apostasy of Jeroboam. From the reduction of this date of the Egyptian erratic year, to its equivalent in the fixed year of the Asiatics, an extraordinary coincidence arises; which, while it establishes the connexion between the Assyrian and Egyptian festivals, and the calendars by which they were determined, proves, to a demonstration, the accuracy of the date which has been ascribed to the defection of the Israelites, under their first idolatrous monarch.

From the reduction of the Macedonian to the Julian year, it appears, that July the 9th corresponded with Löus 16th. Noris de Ann. Maced. p. 22. This day is represented, by Berosus, as

dedicated to the Saccean festival, which was kept for five days at Babylon. The servants were accustomed, during these holidays to change places with their lords; while one of them decked in royal robes, and having the title of Segan, or Prefect, presided over the Saturnalian revels: vid. Seld. ut supr. cap. 13. p. 343. In entering on the description of this festival, the same learned writer observes: "*Sesach* numen est apud Jeremiam, c. xxv. com. 26. et li. com. 41. *Ab eo* (sic volunt viri doctissimi,) *Sacea*, festum Babyloniorum, dicta, seu ἡμέρας Σακέας, uti apud Romanos Saturnalia a Saturno." Id. ibid. p. 342. From the name and number of the days thus celebrated, and the place assigned to them in the Asiatic year, it may be collected, with certainty, that they were originally instituted by Sesach, during his oriental expedition, in the course of which Jerusalem fell into his hands: see Assyr. Expect. of a Gr. Deliv. p. 144. 145. 257. and n. This point seems to be placed beyond reasonable doubt, by the coincidence which has been pointed out, between the days on which they were held, according to the Asiatic and Egyptian calendars. From the system of Egyptian chronology, which has been already noticed, it appears, that Sesach ascended the throne B. C. 976. J. P. 3738: the year preceding the apostasy of the Israelites, under Jeroboam. In this year, Thoth 1st having fallen April 25th, Athyr 17th fell July 9th: and from the ambulatory nature of the Egyptian year, this coincidence could not have taken place, for centuries, before the year which preceded: vid. Scalig. Can. Isagog. l. 1. tab. 8. p. 79. seq. And as the beginning of that year retrograded, from the neglect of the intercalation; beyond the two following years, it could not again occur, until after the lapse of centuries. We besides know, it was the custom of the kings of the same early age, to compute the course of the sacred year from the time of their accession: vid. Noris de Epoch. Syro-Maced. diss. 3. p. 242. d. 243. d. If the concurrence of all the circumstances which thus appear to have been connected with the enthronisation of Sesach, do not prove it accurately fixed; it seems hopeless to look for certainty from the deductions of chronology. As the coincidence between Athyr 17th and Löus 16th upon July 9th identifies *the time* when the Egyptian king ascended the throne: the difference between the

date of the 15th of the 7th month, according to the Egyptian and Hebrew reckoning, identifies *the year* of the apostasy of the Israelites. The latter case admitted of no latitude of interpretation; the particular nature of the Jewish year, as founded on the lunar motions, limiting the year of the festival of Jeroboam to that B. C. 975. and the very day of it to Thursday, Nov. 4th: the first year of the apostasy of Israel extending to the same day of the year following, B. C. 974. The influence, which the Egyptian monarch acquired, not only in Babylon and Jerusalem, but throughout Syria, might be proved, and the preceding observations illustrated and confirmed; from a comparison of the *Adonia* and *Isea*, and an estimate of the relation which the former festival bore to the time of the intercalation, as fixed to July 9th by Scaliger. But the discussion would require the further extension of this note, which has been already prolonged, beyond the prescribed limits. As some justification of the length to which it has been drawn out, its utility may be pleaded, in determining a date, upon which two systems of Egyptian Chronology have been recently founded: the accession of Sesach having been selected, for that purpose, in Mr. Wilkinson's "Topogr. of Thebes and Gen. View of Egypt," and in Mr. Cory's "Chron. Inquir. into Anc. Hist. of Egypt." The basis of his system is accordingly fixed, by the former, in the year B. C. 978, Topogr. p. 506. 514, and by the latter, in that B. C. 971, Inquir. p. 134: for which years respectively, if the preceding observations be allowed, that B. C. 976 should be substituted: see n. on p. 95. l. 16.

P. 70. l. 13. The time of the iniquity of Judah being computed from the Reformation undertaken by Josiah, in the 18th year of his reign; it is not merely matter of curiosity, but of importance to determine the precise date of an event, which has been taken as an epoch, by Jews and Christians: vid. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. i. p. 436.

The Reformation of Josiah having been a measure strictly domestic, it is not marked, like the defection of Jeroboam, by any foreign or extraneous circumstance; the date of it cannot be, therefore, determined with equal precision. It may be, however, shewn, from the chronological characters of the year B. C.

624. J. P. 4090. in which it was placed by Ussher, that it cannot be referred to any other year, with equal probability.

The purgation of the land from the *idolatrous rites*, with which it had been polluted by Jeroboam, was undertaken by Josiah, in the twelfth year of his reign, his thoughts having been directed in the eighth to religious subjects, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. But in the eighteenth, when his reform of the *national religion* properly commenced; an order was issued by him, for the repair of the temple, ibid. 8. In this year, the date of which has been just stated, the first year of the sabbatical series commenced from autumn; that which was observed as sabbatical having then ended. The period had thus arrived, in which contracts were entered into with the labourers, who were employed in the temple, and who, before that time, were not free to enter into any new engagement.

On comparing the accounts of the pious undertaking of Joas and Josiah, with the opinions of modern antiquaries; it may be concluded, that at the early age, in which those kings flourished, the mode of collecting the tribute, employed in repairing the sacred building, differed not essentially from that observed at a later period: see 2 Chron. xxiv. 5—15. xxxiv. 8—17. Maimon. de Siclis, cap. i. and Esgers n. in loc. On the first day of the month Adar, which was the last of the ecclesiastical year, the decree was issued for collecting the contributions. When they were deposited in the treasury; there were but three days in the year, on which money could be drawn from it, to be applied to sacred or secular purposes. Of these days, the principal were the first of the month Nisan and Tisri. Maimon. ib. cap ii. p. 37. Esgers, ib. p. 60. On computing from the date of the decree issued for levying the tribute; allowance being made for the time necessary to collect it with the arrears, which were sometimes withheld until the feast of Tabernacles: it can be only inferred, that the engagement with the labourers, employed in repairing the temple, must have been contracted *in Tisri* of the year B. C. 624. As it must be consequently referred to the very beginning of the year; and that year, it is certain, was the first of the sabbatical series: in being assigned to that time, it must be admitted to have occurred at the most suitable crisis.

To the religious reform, which commenced in this year, the king was prompted by the recovery of the autograph of Moses, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, 15. It may be inferred, from the command, given by the king to the Levites, to "put the holy ark in the house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build," that it "might not be a burden upon their shoulders:" (Ibid. xxxv. 3.) that it had been customary, in the confusion introduced with the adoption of Gentile rites (Ibid. 21.), to bear it about in public processions. As it was the proper place, in which the Book of the Law was commanded to be deposited; it was highly natural, that through apprehension of the loss of so venerable a relic, it would be secreted in some place of security, while the sacred coffer was exposed to the idle gaze and profane curiosity of the multitude. In no place could it remain equally secret and secure as the chests of the treasury; to which access was alone permitted to the priests of the highest order, who were chiefly interested in its preservation. Here there is sufficient authority for concluding, it was positively discovered by the high-priest, on the present memorable occasion. "And when *they brought out the money* that was brought into the house of the Lord, Hilkiah the priest *found a book of the law* of the Lord, given by Moses. And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan." 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. 15.

The sacred volume having been consulted, the observance of the Passover was determined upon; which was accordingly celebrated, the ensuing spring, with unprecedented solemnity and splendour. 2 Kings, xxiii. 21—23. 2 Chron. xxx. 1—19. The date of this festival is accurately referred by Ussher, to Monday, May 4th, B. C. 623. Annal. p. 115. In it the solemn instauration of the National Religion, after the long period of its desecration upon Thursday, Nov. 4th, B. C. 975, was effected by this pious monarch.

From a comparison of the events which marked these different periods, from whence the iniquity of Israel and Judah are respectively dated; it would appear, that, in the festival solemnised by Josiah there was a studied opposition to the feast which had been celebrated by Jeroboam. In that of Tabernacles and Pen-

tecost, to which an allusion was preserved by the one king, there was an hereditary alliance to the pagan festivals, which easily led to their perversion. The Passover, which was selected by the other, was on the contrary essentially Hebrew; and in the character of its rites more decidedly opposed to the heathen licentiousness and superstition: vid. Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 4. s. 1. As authority had been found, by the one, in the idolatrous festival which had received the sanction of Aaron, on the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; it was sought, by the other, in the solemn festival, which had been instituted by Moses, in commemoration of that deliverance. The rejoicing and revelry, which, if not licensed, were promoted by the feast of Tabernacles, recommended it to the idolatrous prince, in seeking some colour, for his profane innovations, in the national worship. With a lurking attachment to such licentious indulgences, the Israelites had required the golden calf to be set up, which had supplied the precedent followed by Jeroboam; and kept the festival, which had been proclaimed by Aaron, in riot and debauchery. Spencer, ibid. lib. ii. c. 3. s. 4. The Passover, on the contrary, had a moral tendency, which more particularly suited it to the sacred purpose of the Jewish monarch; in undertaking the solemn instauration of Religion, which a demoralising superstition had so long debased and corrupted. The contrast between the Gentile and Jewish rites, before the latter had become corrupted, are thus forcibly stated by the learned writer already quoted: "Gentiles, in luxum omnem soluti, *vitis et agri primitias offerebant*, ludis, comessationibus, epulis, canticis insuper ebriosis, seipsos oblectantes. Nihil eo tempore reliquum fiebat luxuriæ dissolutæ, quo Bacchi, fructuum et ebrietatis dei, se gratiam inituros existimabant. Inde factum, quod homines Bacchi orgiis occupatos Σάβους appellarent, voce ab Hebr. סבא ebrius fuit originem petente ni fallat Casauboni conjectura. Judæos etiam *in Paschate, primitiarum festo*, propè nimis ad Ethnicorum mores accessisse, suspicandi causam non levem præbent S. Petri verba: Act. ii. 15. . . . . Sed huic suspicioni locum ampliorem facit Canon ille quem Josephus Scaliger ex antiquissimo Judæorum Rituali citat: אין מפטירין אחר פסח אפיקומן ab eodem Authore sic Græcè redditus; *μετὰ τὸ Πάσχα μὴ ἀπολύσει τὸ δεῖπνον*

ἐπικώμῳ· Hîc autem splendidè hallucinati sunt Scaliger, et recentiores Judæi, qui אפיקומן vocem unam esse, de bellariis in cœnâ Paschali vetitis intelligendam, existimârunt. Nam in Talmude, cap. de Paschate, duæ omnino sunt voces, et Canonem his verbis expressum legimus, אין מפטירין אחר פסח אפי קומן i. e. Μετὰ τὸ Πάσχα οὐκ ἀποπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ κῶμον· 'Post Pascha non dimittunt, id est, non sinunt ire comessatum.' Hic autem Canon è pravis Judæorum moribus oriri videtur, qui postquam epulum Paschale domi peregissent, solebant ἐπὶ κῶμον βαδίζειν, noctu ad vicinas domos se catervatim conferre, et ibi, Gentilium ritu, epulas luxuriæ plenas instaurare. Sic morem Gentium antiquitus habuisse, docent Epicharmi verba, Ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνη, ἐκ δὲ θοίνης πόσις, ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος· 'Sacrificium epulum sequitur, epulum compotatio, et compotationem comessatio.'" Spenc. ibid. lib. iii. c. 9. diss. 1.

P. 70. l. 19. The associations, by which the profanation of the Jewish Religion under Jeroboam, and its reformation under Josiah, are connected, have been already traced and illustrated. The aggravated nature of the iniquity of Judah, the commencement of which is dated from the latter event, will be particularly apparent when the leading events are more closely examined, by which the extremes thus remotely allied are brought together. When thus connected, they supply the happiest exemplification of the method to which God has recourse, in the exercise of his special providence for the reformation of human depravity, and the demonstration of his direct intervention. The defection of the king of Israel was signalized by two *miracles*, addressed to the immediate participators in his criminal attempt; and a *prophecy* directed to those, who were destined to witness its pernicious consequences. When the project of the idolatrous prince was proclaimed through his dominions, and a day fixed, in which the national worship was destined to be superseded by foreign superstitions; a prophet of Judah was dispatched to Bethel, to warn him of the consequences of this sinful dereliction of his paternal religion. In the very festival in which this profane revolution commenced, and at which the king seems to have presided in person, the inspired messenger appears to have fulfilled the object of his mission. "And behold, there came a man of God out of

Judah—by the word of the Lord unto Bethel: and Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense. And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord; Behold a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee. And he gave a sign the same day, saying, This is the sign which the Lord hath spoken; Behold, the altar shall be rent, and the ashes that are upon it shall be poured out." 1 Kings, xiii. 1. 2. 3. The sign thus given, was directly confirmed; the altar, which was the implement of offence against the Deity, having been visited with the marks of his displeasure which had been threatened. And the apostate monarch, who ordered the prophet to be seized, in proceeding to carry his menaces into effect, had his hand withered, and again restored, at his intercession.

At the expiration of 350 years, the Jews beheld the prediction fulfilled, while apparently unconscious of its having ever been uttered. When the king, who had been specifically named in it, had completed the work which it was foretold he would accomplish; the search among the sepulchres, for bones, to defile the idolatrous altars, led to the accidental discovery of the prophet's tomb, whose denunciations were thus unexpectedly verified. "And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount, and sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burned them upon the altar, and polluted it, according to the word of the Lord which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these words. Then he said, What title is that that I see? And the men of the city told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou hast done against the altar of Bethel. And he said, Let him alone; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria." 2 Kings, xxiii. 17. 18.

The subjects of the king of Judah, who beheld this prediction fulfilled, were consequently inexcusable in their infidelity; as they received as convincing evidence of the interposition of God, as they who had been present when it was delivered. To the

authenticated tradition of the miracle which attested the legation of him by whom it was uttered, they added their own personal experience of the accuracy with which it was accomplished. But as no evidence is intended to be indefectible in its operation, it failed in producing the desired effect. The short period which intervened between the recovery of the book of Moses, and the celebration of the Passover which it enjoined, gave rise to another prediction, that, while it declared the prospect of any benefit resulting from the projected reform to be utterly hopeless, proclaimed the retribution with which the culpable disregard of it would be finally visited. The prophetess Huldah, to whom the king sent "to enquire of the Lord," declared the sentence would be as severe as irreversible; a sentence which ere forty years had elapsed was carried into execution. "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read: Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched." 2 Kings, xxii. 16. 17. In the exemption from these visitations, which was promised to the reigning monarch, it had been declared, that "the land and the inhabitants should become a desolation and a curse." Ibid. 19.

These denunciations were attended with little effect beyond that of aggravating the guilt of those by whom they were slighted. During the thirteen years of Josiah's reign, which followed his reformation, the evil that had sprung up under his predecessor Manasseh, and had struck so deep a root in his long reign, continued to provoke the divine indignation. 1 Kings, xxiii. 26. And a line of kings succeeded those monarchs, the character of whose administration is summed up in the brief and reproachful sentence, "he did evil in the sight of the Lord according to all that his father had done." Ibid. 37. &c.

P. 71. l. 9. It has been already shown that the last deportation of the inhabitants of Judea to Babylon, which, in reducing the country to a desert, fulfilled the prophecies that foretold its desolation;—took place in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 584. J. P. 4130: see n. to p. 64. l. 1.

These dates are determined by the authority of the prophet Jeremiah, who performed a conspicuous part in the events of these memorable times, and appears to have put the finishing hand to the books of Scripture, in which they are recorded. Jer. lii. 28. seq. 2 Kings, xxv. 27. seq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 12. seq. His testimony is corroborated by Josephus, who was a diligent compiler from the native annalists, who treated of the affairs of the countries subject to the Babylonians. In the annexed sketch of the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar into Syria and Egypt, he preserves the date of the final abduction of his countrymen when the prediction of Ezekiel was carried into execution. The passage is curious, as it throws some light on the time of the year, when the desolation of Judea was fully effected. " In the fifth year of the desolation of Jerusalem, *which was the 23rd of Nebuchadonosor*, this king led an expedition against Cæle-Syria, and having subdued it, waged war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and having reduced these nations to subjection, proceeded against Egypt to reduce it. Having slain the king of it and set up another, he again made captive the Jews, whom he found there, and led them to Babylon. To this end the Hebrew race were reduced, as we have received," &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. p. 345. c. Allusion appears to be here made to the Jews who had taken refuge in Egypt, previously to the antecedent abduction, when the temple was burnt and Jerusalem dismantled. 2 Kings, xxv. 26. cf. 8. seq. That the desolation of *the land* of Judea cannot be dated from this time, is obvious from the last act ascribed to the Babylonian general, when he had completed the destruction of *the city*; " the captain of the guard left of *the poor* of the land, to be *vine-dressers and husbandmen*." Ibid. 12. comp. n. to p. 64. l. 16.

The desolation foretold by the prophet must be thus confined to the subsequent and final abduction of the Jews, B. C. 584; and as this year is identical with that of the J. P. 4130, the sabbatical year commenced in it, at autumn. The declaration of God was thus fulfilled to the letter; that " their *land* should be *desolate* and their cities waste:—then should the *land enjoy her sabbaths*, as long as it *lay desolate*, and they were in their enemies' land: even then should the *land rest and enjoy her*

*sabbaths.*" Cf. supr. p. 37. and n. to p. 21. l. 12. to p. 37. l. 16. As Nebuchadnezzar had closed the campaign, and returned to Babylon this year; his army, to arrive in time in their winter quarters, must have set out from Palestine, about the beginning of autumn. The desolation of Judea, by the desertion of its inhabitants, must have thus taken place not only in a *sabbatical year*, but at the time of its *commencement*.

The two intervals of 40 and 390 years, which terminated at this time, according to Ezekiel's prediction, as they were times of iniquity, are not measured by sabbatical periods. They respectively exceed, by five years, the revolutions of that cycle.

P. 74. l. 20. See n. to p. 78. l. 12.

P. 78. l. 12. A primary and secondary sense are ascribed to the prophecy of Ezekiel, founded on the different modes of computing by days and years; both of which seem capable of being sustained on the authority of the prophet. By the one, the interval of the siege of Jerusalem is indicated; and by the other, the duration of the iniquity of Israel. The former is very plainly asserted, Ezek. iv. 4. 5, the latter may be easily deduced from, ibid. 4. 8. Both senses of the prophecy are accordingly recognized by the most competent judges: vid. Usser. Annal. p. 127. d. 130. c. p. 134. a.

The siege of Jerusalem commenced, *in the 9th year*, 10th month and 10th day of the reign of Zedekiah, 2 Kings, xxv. 1; and ended in the 11th year 4th month and 9th day of the same prince: ibid. 2. 3. The interval included between these dates amounts to 18 months, or one year and a half; about 547 days. The sum of the days predicted by Ezekiel not exceeding 430; the difference between them, of 117 days, has been referred to the suspension of the operations against the city; the Chaldees, having proceeded against the Egyptians. According to Ussher the siege commenced Thurs. Jan. 30. B. C. 590: and no date being specified, at which it was suspended, it is assumed by him to have been resumed Thurs. July 3. B. C. 589: in 390 days, from which time, the city was taken Tues. July 27. B. C. 588. and the temple burnt Sat. August 27. of the same year. Usser. Annal. p. 128. d. 130. c. 131. According to Des-Vignolles, the limits of the siege were Jan. 14. B. C. 588. and June 29. B. C. 587: computing from the former date 390 days in descent, and

from the latter 40 days in ascent; he supposes the operations were suspended between Feb. 8. and May 21. Des-Vignolles uti supr. tom. ii. p. 450. On these different statements, as they are supported by no chronological character, it is unnecessary to enlarge at present.

On the different years assigned by these celebrated chronologists to the capture of Jerusalem, Ussher placing it B. C. 588, and Des-Vignolles B. C. 587, it may be observed, that the computation of the former is capable of demonstration. It is certain that Jerusalem was taken in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar; Jer. lii. 12. Usser. ibid. p. 131. d. On antedating his accession two years, to the year B. C. 604, assigned it in the astronomical Canon, and referring it to B. C. 606; his nineteenth year was necessarily B. C. 588.

The above dates, as Archbishop Ussher has shown, may be proved to a demonstration by the sabbatical cycle. The siege of Jerusalem commenced in *the 9th year* of Zedekiah, and 17th of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 590; Jer. xxxix. 1. 2. with lii. 5. 12. The expedition against the country had commenced the *preceding year;* B. C. 591. J. P. 4123. Such is the decision of the Great Chronicle of the Jews; "*Anno octavo* Zidkijæ venerunt copiæ regis Babyloniæ contra Hierosolymam," &c. Seder Olam. c. 26. p. 75. To this year, as sabbatical from autumn, the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar seems to be confined, by the incidents related by Jeremiah, c. xxxiv. 7—10. 18. 19. With reference to the covenant which the prophet notices, and from the time of which the events of the following years are determined, it is observed by Ussher; "*Annus sabbatarius:* in quo Hierosolymitani, *adventante adversùs eos cum copiis Nebuchadnesare*, servorum libertatem (juxta Legem, Exod. xxi. 2. et Deut. xv. 1. 2. 12.) promulgârunt. (Jerem. xxxiv. 8. 9. 10.) Nam Babylonius adversùs rebellem Sedekiam ducens exercitum, vastatâ regione et occupatis arcibus, ad ipsam Hierosolymam oppugnandam demùm accessit. (Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 10.) Omnes enim civitates Judæ jam occupaverat; Hierosolyma, Lacisho et Azekâ exceptis: quas oppugnavit ille cum omnibus copiis suis; omnibusque regnis terræ in dominio suo. (Jerem. xxxiv. 1. 7.)" Annal. p. 128. conf. p. 129. et infr. n. on p. 104. l. 2.

Des-Vignolles has, indeed, vainly undertaken to wrest the

account of the prophet in favour of his hypothesis: proceeding on the assumption that the events which he describes were synchronous with those described by Ezekiel, (ch. xx. 1. sq.): and which are referred by him to the 7th year of Zedekiah. Chron. tom. i. p. 782. He supposes that "the *elders* of Israel" came *to consult* the prophet, on the expediency of keeping the sabbatical year, then about to commence, in the country, were so far from having any possessions, they were detained in captivity: and although if they should acquire any, the least informed among them could not be ignorant that the precept, requiring them to hallow the land, was confined to that from which they had been expelled. A reference to the context of the prophet will disclose the subject of their inquiries; which betrayed predilections more nearly akin to the principles which had occasioned their expulsion from Judea: "And *that* which *cometh into your mind* shall not be at all, that ye say, *We will be as the heathen*, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone." Ezek. xx. 32. conf. 39—43. Persons who were thus disposed could have had little concern about keeping the sabbath.

## LECTURE IV.

P. 81. l. 19. Voy. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. ii. p. 559.

P. 82. l. 9. See n. on p. 15. l. 11.

P. 85. l. 3. Butler, Anal. of Relig. pt. ii. ch. 7. p. 277.

P. 86. l. 9. Voy. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. i. p. 468. 453.

P. 86. l. 13. The reform of Josiah had commenced in his 12th year; the mission of Jeremiah is dated from the following year: Jer. i. 2. xxv. 3. The epoch from which Ezekiel computes, is that of the reformation of the national religion, in the 18th of the same monarch: see n. on p. 70. l. 13. The prophecy of the 70 years' captivity, is dated, by the author himself, from the 4th of Jehoiakim and 1st of Nebuchadnezzar: Jer. xxv. 1. According to the principles formerly laid down, it was

delivered in the year B. C. 606: see n. on p. 64. l. 1. p. 87. l. 29. p. 90. l. 9.

P. 87. l. 29. On the precision, with which the date of the prophecy of the 70 years' captivity is marked, it has been justly observed by Des-Vignolles. "D'abord, il faut en considérer la Date. Elle est marquée avec tant de soin, que je ne croi pas, qu'on trouve rien de semblable dans toute l'Antiquité, sacrée ou profane, jusqu'à Thucydide, qui écrivit environ 200 ans aprés .... C'est ce qu'on appelle marquer exactement une Epoque. Mais écoutons Jérémie: 'L'an 4 de Joakim fils de Josias roi de Juda; l'an 1^r de Nebucadnesar roi de Babylone; l'an 23^e de mon Ministère, à conter depuis l'an 13^e de Josias fils d'Amon roi de Juda.' Pouvoit-il caractériser plus précisément le tems de sa prophétie: et une exactitude, si peu commune, ne nous dit-elle pas, de faire attention à ce tems?" Chron. tom. i. p. 544.

P. 88. l. 25. The grounds on which Des-Vignolles declares in favor of the first deportation of the Jews, as constituting the proper epoch of the captivity, are so conclusive and fully expressed, as to preclude the necessity for further observation on the subject. "Un des termes, dont l'Ecriture se sert le plus souvent, sur cette matière, c'est celui de גולה ou גלוה, que nos Interprètes traduisent, tantôt par celui de *Transport*, tantôt par celui de *Captivité*. L'Ecriture s'en sert indifféremment, soit en parlant de quelques Captivitez particulières, soit pour exprimer la Captivité Générale des Juifs. Un officier du roi Nebucadnesar, disoit à son maître, en parlant de Daniel: 'J'ai trouvé un homme parmi les captifs de Juda,' Dan. ii. 25. Le roi Baltassar parle ainsi à Daniel même: 'Etes-vous ce Daniel, des captifs de Juda,' 'que le roi mon père fit ammener de Juda?' ibid. 13. Et les officiers du roi Darius lui disent, que 'Daniel est de ceux qui ont été ammenez captifs de Juda,' ibid. vi. 13. Niëra-t-on, que ce ne soit une véritable captivité, que *cette première*, ou Daniel fut transporté en Babylone? Nous ignorons le nombre des personnes qui furent transportées avec lui. Ainsi on ne peut prendre la-dessus aucun avantage pour la suivante. Mais nous savons, que dans toutes les deux, plusieurs vaisseaux du Temple furent emportez à Babylone; qu'un roi fut fait prisonnier dans chacune;

et si Ezéchiel fut emmené dans la seconde, Daniel l'avoit été dans la première. Si donc Jérémie parle de quelque captivité particulière, il me semble qu'on doit, sans balancer, se déterminer *pour la première:* par cela même, qu'elle est *la première;* puisque pour le reste, les choses sont à peu près égales." Chron. tom. i. p. 542.

He even brings the authority of Scaliger in support of the same conclusion; who deduced the epoch of the Captivity from the close of the reign of Jehoiachin: " par l'aveu même de Scaliger, les 70 ans, dont Jérémie parle ici, doivent être contez, 'a servitute et ex quo tempore Judæi tributarii Chaldæis facti fuerunt:' c'est à l'an 3e de Joakim, qu'il faut mettre le commencement de la servitude des Juifs, et de l'empire des Chaldéens. Je joins ensemble ces deux choses; parce que Jérémie l'a fait. Car quoi qu'il nomme quinze ou vingt Nations, que Nebucadnesar devoit soûmettre à son empire, avec le tems; c'étoit premièrement les Juifs, que Jérémie avoit en vûë. Le Chapitre commence ainsi: 'La parole qui fut adressée à Jérémie, touchant tout le païs de Juda:' c'est à dire, touchant ce qui devoit lui arriver, de la part de Nebucadnésar, dont l'empire fait le fond de ce Chapitre. Dans la suite, il met toujours les Juifs à la tête des Nations, qui devoient être assujettis à l'empire des Chaldéens. Après quoi il ajoûte: 'Voici je commence d'envoyer du mal, sur la ville, dans laquelle mon nom est invoqué. Et vous, en seriez-vous exempts?' C'est donc contre Juda, et Jérusalem, que Dieu commença d'envoyer Nabucadnesar, *l'an* 3e *de Joakim.* L'année suivante, il fut envoyé contre Pharaon roi d'Egypte: et quelque tems après, contre les autres Nations du voisinage; chacune en son rang." Ibid. p. 548. In these views Ussher fully acquiesces: see n. on p. 98. l. 10.

P. 90. l. 9. The distinction between the date of the delivery of the prophecy and of the term which it predicted is recognised by Des-Vignolles. Alluding to Jer. xxv. 9, he observes: " C'est Dieu qui envoye Nebucadnesar roi de Babylone, et qui l'honore du glorieux titre de son serviteur. Mais quand est-ce que ce serviteur de Dieu fut envoyé? L'Ecriture Sainte ne commence à parler de lui, que sous le régne de Joakim: et la première Expédition qu'elle en rapporte, se fit *en la* 3e *Année* de Joakim

roi de Juda, qui *précéda immédiatement celle de la prophétie.* Alors Nebucadnesar roi de Babylone vint assiéger Jérusalem : et ' Dieu livra en sa main Joakim roi de Juda, et une partie des vaisseaux de la maison de Dieu, qu'il emporta en son païs.' Dan. i. 1. 2. N'est-ce pas là un serviteur, qui ayant éxécuté la première commission, pour laquelle il avoit été envoyé, reçoit en récompense, une partie des trésors de la maison de son maître ?" Chron. ib. p. 545.

P. 92. l. 16. The date and circumstances of this expedition, as deducible from Jeremiah and Josephus, are so fully and accurately stated by Des-Vignolles, that every thing which can be added in illustration of the subject, has been anticipated by his observations. Referring to the year B. C. 605, he remarks : " Après la prise de Jérusalem, et de Joakim roi de Juda ; Nebuchodonosor marcha droit à Pharaon Nécho, roi d'Egypte, qui étoit alors devant Carchemis auprès de l'Eufrate, Nebuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, l'ayant joint, le défit, en l'An 4^e^ de Joakim, roi de Juda : et Jérémie prononça une prophétie, à l'occasion de cette défaite. Nebuchodonosor, profitant de sa victoire, poursuivit son ennemi ; le contraignit de regagner sa flotte, pour se retirer en Egypte ; et reconquit tout ce que le roi d'Egypte tenoit, depuis l'Eufrate, jusqu'au Torrent d'Egypte, nommé Sichor, qui borne la Palestine, au Midi. Non content de cela, Nebuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, entra dans le païs d'Egypte, pour le ravager, comme nous l'apprenons de Jérémie, dans le même chapitre, que j'ai déjà cité ; et en particulier, Migdol, Noph, et Tophnes, villes de la Basse Egypte, par deçà le Nil, au regard de la Palestine, ou au delà, par rapport à nous. Joseph rapportant la même histoire, dit qu'après la bataille, Nebuchodonosor, ayant passé l'Eufrate, reconquit toute la Syrie, jusqu'à Péluse, hormis la Judée. Joseph a raison de dire, que Nebuchodonosor passa l'Eufrate, après sa victoire, si Carchemis est la même, que Cercusium, comme on le croit, et comme il y a apparence : puisque cette ville étoit au delà de l'Eufrate, par rapport à nous, et à la Syrie. Il s'accorde aussi avec Jérémie, lorsqu'il ajoûte, que Nebuchodonosor poussa ses conquêtes jusqu'au Péluse, ville de la Basse Egypte, située sur le bord Oriental du Nil. Pour ce qui est des dernières paroles, Torniel les explique ainsi " Illud

autem, Judæa excepta, a Josepho additum puto, quod fortasse ideo rex Babylonis tunc Judææ pepercerit, quia (ut dictum est) Anno præcedenti, ipse Nebuchodonosor fœdus percusserat cum Joakim, rege Judæorum." Quoique cette explication soit conforme à ce que j'ai dit moi-même, un peu plus haut; je doute, que ce soit la pensée de Joseph." Chron. tom. ii. p. 435.

P. 94 l. 23. Four dates are distinguishable in the growth of Cyrus's authority, until its full and final establishment, in his accession to the sovereignty of the East. The first is dated from his acquiring the government of Persia; the second from his adding Media to his conquests; the third from his subjugation of Babylon, in the fall of which the Chaldean monarchy expired; and the fourth, from the foundation of the Imperial throne of Persia, when the Eastern world submitted to his sway. On the first and second of those epochs, which are respectively dated from the years B. C. 559. and 550, the reader may be referred to the full and accurate investigation of Des-Vignolles, Chron. liv. v. ch. 14. § 6. p. 549. 551. With the third and fourth, as more immediately relating to the subject of the liberation of the Jews, we are exclusively interested. The former of them, as determined by the same learned chronologist, on the authority of the Astronomical Canon, is referred to the year B. C. 538. After having proved from the internal evidence of this invaluable document, that the order of succession, as delivered in it, depends upon the right of conquest, not of hereditary descent; he thence determines the date of the battle by which the fate of the Assyrian empire was decided. " De même la bataille de Babylone fût donnée, ou au printemps, ou dans l'été, de l'an 210 de Nabonassar; c'est à dire 5 ou 6. mois, plus ou moins, après le commencement de cette année: et quelque tems avant la déposition de Nabonnide, qui n'entra plus dans Babylone, depuis la bataille, comme on le verra. Mais le Canon commence le régne de Cyrus, avec l'an 210. de Nabonassar, pendant lequel fût donnée la bataille de Babylone: sans avoir égard à la déposition de Nabonnide; dont le tems même n'est pas connu. Or l'année 210. de Nabonassar, commença *le 5 Janvier de l'an P. J.* 4176, et c'est de là, que le Canon astronomique, commence les 9 ans, qu'il donne *au regne de Cyrus en Babylone.* Tout cela est

clair, ce me semble; et hors de toute difficulté." Chron. ib. p. 561. d. The determination of the last epoch, from whence the liberation of the Jews is dated, depends principally on the duration of the reign of Cyaxares, or Darius the Median, upon whose demise, Cyrus in succeeding to the throne of Babylon, which he had ceded to his uncle during his life time, acquired that authority over the natural subjects, of the Babylonian king, which led to the liberation of the Jews: see n. to p. 96. l. 9.

P. 95. l. 7. Voy. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. ii. p. 581. seq.

P. 95. l. 16. There is no ground for reasonable doubt, that the fall of Babylon took place, at the crisis of the death of Belshazzar and the accession of Darius the Median. After giving an account of the festival, in which the former prince terminated his licentious course; the prophet Daniel declares, "that night was Belshazzar the *king of the Chaldeans* slain. And Darius the Median *took the kingdom*, being about threescore and two years old." Dan. v. 30. 31. This statement is not only confirmed by the common consent of pagan writers, who represent Babylon as having been surprised by Cyrus, while the inhabitants were engaged in nightly revels and debauchery; but more particularly by the testimony of Xenophon, who agrees with Daniel, in stating that the city was taken during the celebration of a festival, and that the king was found dead in the morning. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 113. c. conf. Herod. lib. i. c. 190. Is. xxi. 5. 9. Jer. li. 39. 41. 57.

The subject has been, however, involved in considerable perplexity, from the difficulty which has arisen in identifying the two kings, mentioned by Daniel, in the account of the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, which is inserted in the Astronomical Canon, and that which has been transmitted by ancient writers. The discrepancy is the more embarrassing as the conformity of the pagan authorities is observed to be as close among themselves, as it is irreconcilable with the testimony of the sacred writers.

On the identity of Darius the Median, chronologists are now, indeed, very generally agreed: the opinion of Josephus being commonly adopted, that he is the Cyaxares, who accompanied Cyrus in his conquests, and on whom he conferred the Babylonian kingdom. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. c. 12. p. 350. e. It is adopted

by Des-Vignolles, after the most patient examination of the evidence on both sides: nor can the sentence in which his judgment rests be safely rejected. Chron. lib. v. ch. 13. p. 495. seq.

His inquiry into the identity of Belshazzar has been attended with very different success; his opinion being irreconcilably opposed to the highest authorities amongst the ancients. Megasthenes and Berosus agree in interposing between Nebuchodonosor and Nabonadus, three princes, named Evilmerodach, Neriglisar, Labrosoarchod; and with these writers the compiler of the Astronomical Canon virtually coincides, the short reign of the last named prince having occasioned his exclusion from it, consistently with the principles on which it is constructed. Voy. Des-Vignolles, Chron. tom. ii. p. 477. It must be however, confessed, that every effort to reconcile sacred and profane history, in the testimony borne to this king, has proved a lamentable failure. Sufficient evidence of the abortiveness of the attempt is apparent in the untowardness of the fact, that each of them, in his turn, has been selected as the proper representative of the monarch in whom the line of Babylonian sovereigns ended, according to Daniel. An insurmountable difficulty, in establishing a likeness, has indeed, arisen, in the direct opposition between the sacred and profane account; Belshazzar being declared, if not the son, the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar; while the successors assigned to this king, with the exception of his son Evilmerodach, are represented as usurpers, and unallied to his descendants, unless by marriage. It is to little purpose, that by Des-Vignolles, who discovers the latent resemblance, which is sought to Belshazzar, in Neriglisar—examples are multiplied of the appropriation of the terms father and son by persons who were not related. These terms of attachment or partiality, it may be granted, are as common, as the feelings which they express are general. But no example has been cited of their use, unless in forms of colloquial courtesy, and such as are confined to the parties, between whom there is an interchange of kindness or affection. Such are instances altogether foreign from the narrative form of scripture; in which the closest degree of relationship is declared to have positively existed between Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. Dan. v. 2. 11. 18.

This relationship, which is not to be questioned, being admitted, some other principle of exposition must be devised by which the contrary accounts of Daniel and Berosus, of Xenophon and Megasthenes, may be reconciled; it being asserted, on the one hand, that, on the capture of Babylon, Belshazzar, who was of the royal line, occupied the throne, and perished on the night of the assault of the Persians; and on the other, that Nabonedus, who had been elected king from a private station, was on the throne, and that he survived the downfal of his capital. Nevertheless, these apparently contradictory statements may be, I believe, adequately reconciled, without offering any violence to the testimony, on which they are respectively supported. If this course be tenable, while the required end is secured; it will be at least admitted, that the solution which is offered of the difficulties of a subject, hitherto found inexplicable, will be at least preferable to every other, wherein the evidence, to which a common appeal is made, is strained or perverted to serve the purposes of a mere hypothesis.

It is on all sides admitted, that Babylon was surprised by the confederate armies of the Medes and Persians, on a night which was devoted by the inhabitants to a riotous festival. Thus far, the ancient prophets and historians concur in asserting. To this effect not only Daniel, Isaiah and Jeremiah, but Herodotus and Xenophon have been already cited. It did not escape the penetration of Scaliger, that the revels to which the Babylonians resigned themselves on the night of its fall, were held during the Sesakean festival: and Des-Vignolles, in fully subscribing to his opinions, adds the following illustration of the authority of Berosus, as reported by Athenæus, which has been already cited; " De ce passage, Scaliger et d'autres après lui, ont conclû, que *Babylone fût prise, pendant la fête* dont parle Athenée. Peu de conjectures sont aussi probable, que celle-ci, et si on l'admet, il ne sera pas difficile de fixer le tems de cette prise de Babylone. Suivant le Calendrier, qu' Usserius a joint à son Traité, de anno Macedonum; de même, que suivant le Cardinal Noris, dans ses Epochæ Syro-Macedonum: ' Neomenia sive initium Loï statuitur die 24. Junii, ad quam in Julianâ emendatione solstitium æstivum alligatur,' &c. Desorte que le 16$^{e}$ de Loüs, doit tomber *au* 9$^{e}$ *de*

*Juillet;* tems de l'année, ou l'Eufrate devoit être le moins haut, et le plus facile à dessécher. Ce fût dans la même saison, et à 10 jours près, que la ville de Jérusalem fût prise, 50 ans auparavant." Chron. tom. ii. p. 566. It is impossible to allow any authority to Jeremiah, when describing the downfal of Babylon; and refuse our assent to the conclusion, at which Scaliger arrived with his usual felicity of conjecture. While dwelling on the scenes of riotous excess, which in leaving the city unguarded, hastened its fall, the prophet not only identifies the festival by its intemperance, but by the name of its founder, " In their heat I will make *their feasts*, and I will *make them drunken*, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord.... How is *Sheshach taken!* and how is the praise of the whole earth surprised! how is *Babylon become an astonishment* among the nations!.... And I will *make drunk her princes*, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts." Jer. li. 39. 41. 57.

To the description of the festival given by Berosus, some further particulars are added by Dion Chrystome, from which not a little light is thrown upon this obscure subject. " Are you ignorant," he observes, " of the festival of the Sakeans, which the Persians celebrated in the place where you conduct your army? A person *condemned to death* is chosen for the purpose, he is clothed in royal attire, and he is *seated on a throne*, and when he is beaten, he is put to death." Orat. iv. de Regn. p. 69. f. This description derives the fullest confirmation from the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the mode of intercalating the year among different nations. During that time, when the old year closed and the new commenced, it was customary, in celebrating the mysteries, which professed to retain the secret of the mode of equating the year, to offer up human victims. In the Roman Saturnalia, which have been assimilated to the Babylonian revels, a memorial of the inhuman rite was preserved in the sigillaria, which continued for a long time to be offered, in place of the living victims, which were originally sacrificed: vid. Macrob. Sat. lib. i. c. 11. p. 168. That the Sesachean festival was held, on such an occasion, is not merely obvious from the

time at which it was observed, but the number of days for which it was celebrated. These were merely the five epagomenæ, added by the Egyptians at *the close* of the common year; a sixth being subjoined, by the priests, to the secret or sacerdotal. See Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 9. seq. From what has been advanced on this subject, there can be little reason to doubt that the Babylonians were indebted to Sesach, during his Asiatic expedition, for the knowledge of the festival, and the mode of intercalation, which enabled them to observe its anniversary: see n. on p. 70. l. 7.

If the preceding conclusion be admitted to be just, it cannot be reasonably denied, that, during the celebration of the Sesachean festival, the Babylonian throne could not have been occupied by the *reigning* sovereign. It cannot, with greater justice be disputed, that one who had been *a prisoner*, was liberated from confinement and elevated to that rank, and was taken off at the expiration of the festival. It is nevertheless clear, from the testimony of Daniel, that a prince, the immediate descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, was set upon the throne and invested with royal authority, on the night that Babylon fell into the hands of the Persians. And it is not less apparent, from the statement of Berosus, that the son of that celebrated king had been cut off, and his posterity excluded from the throne, by a line of usurpers: the sovereignty having been conferred upon Nabonedus, by the suffrage of the people, and retained by him until it was transferred, at the time of the festival, to Darius the Median. We have equal or higher authority for knowing, that it was the custom of the Babylonian monarchs to confine the deposed kings in prison, whom they had deprived of their dominions. Of Evilmerodach, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, it is accordingly recorded, that "in the first year of his reign he lifted up the head of Jehoiakin king of Judah, and brought him forth *out of prison*, and spake kindly unto him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon, and changed his prison garments: and he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life." Jer. lii. 31. 32. 33. From all these circumstances taken together, the inference seems unavoidable, that although Nabonedus was recog-

nised as the *actual* sovereign, Belshazzar was invested with royal authority, for the brief period of five days to which the festival extended; and that, whether he fell the victim of a barbarous superstition, or perished in the indiscriminate slaughter, that followed the storming of Babylon, it appears he did not survive the night of its capture.

If the preceding account be compared with the statement of Berosus; it will not be found to militate against that writer's testimony in any material circumstance. On the contrary, there is good ground for suspecting, that in the abridged account of Labrosoarchod, which has been extracted from his writings, some fragments of Belshazzar's history are preserved. But in the epitome of Josephus, by whom it is compressed into the compass of two or three lines, the *close* of the Babylonian prince's life is unfortunately connected with its *commencement;* the juxtaposition into which they are unhappily forced, arising from the narrow limits, within which the Jewish historian undertook to condense his narrative. The *events* of this reign are despatched in the following terms; Τούτου [Νηριγλισσορόου] υἱὸς Λαβοροσσάρχοδος ἐκεκυρίευσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας, παῖς ὢν, μῆνας ἐννέα· ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπεστυμπανίσθη. Ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ ἑ. "His (Neglissar's) son, Labrosoarchod, a mere boy, governed the kingdom nine months: but having exhibited an evil disposition, he was conspired against and expelled by his friends. When he was destroyed, &c." Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1045. e. The account given by Abydenus of this revolution is even more brief; he merely states, that the young prince was son to Neriglissar, and perished by a violent death. Abyd. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. ix. c. 41. p. 457. b. There is nothing, consequently, in these accounts which tends to invalidate the preceding representation. This further plea, may be, on the contrary, urged, in proof of the identity of Labrosoarchod and Belshazzar, that they appear to have been equally grandsons of Nebuchadnezzar. The former prince, if indeed they were different, deduced his descent through the female line; his mother having been that monarch's daughter, as sister to Evilmerodach. The same observation does not extend to any other of his successors, of whom mention is made in ancient

writers: our choice seems to be consequently limited to this prince, in seeking the representative of Belshazzar, among the successors of Nebuchadnezzar.

What is, however, of still greater moment in deciding the present question; Daniel speaks of Belshazzar, as the *rightful*, not as the reigning king of Babylon. The manner in which he introduces his name is a direct contrast to that in which he introduces the name of his successor. Of the one he merely declares, "Belshazzar the king made a great feast," ch. v. 1; but of the other, "in the *first year* of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which *was made king* over the realm of the Chaldeans," c. ix. 1. This recognition of the latter monarch's title and government, is still further contrasted with his silence respecting the dynasty which he had superseded; to no member of which, is there the slightest allusion in his writings. When brought before Belshazzar, he acknowledges him as king, which it can be hardly supposed he would have done, had he merely ascended the throne, in right of his predecessors who had usurped it: and in the manner in which the acknowledgment is made a distinction appears, in which it is implied, that the kingdom was not his, in fact, notwithstanding his hereditary right to it, through his progenitors. "O *thou king*, the most high God *gave* Nebuchadnezzar *thy father a kingdom*, and majesty, and glory, and honor."....But "thou, *his son* O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thy heart, though thou knewest all this," ib. 18. 22. A distinction is besides made between "his wives," who were present at the feast, and "the queen," who had absented herself, until she was called to "the banquet-house," to witness the handwriting on the wall, (ib. 10. comp. 2,) which equally implies that there was another monarch, whose consort she was, and through whom she possessed her title. But, what is perfectly inexplicable, on the supposition that Belshazzar was the reigning monarch and accustomed to frequent the court; it appears, that while Daniel held the highest office in the state, on being brought before him, he was absolutely unacquainted with his person, though not uninformed of his character: "Then was Daniel brought in before the king. And the king spake and said unto Daniel, *Art thou that Daniel*, which art of the children of the

captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry? I have *even heard of thee*, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee," ibid. 13. 14. Surely the explanation of so extraordinary a circumstance must be sought where it directly presents itself, in the assumption that the king must have been kept in confinement until his elevation to the throne, during the few days in which the festival was celebrated; and that he consequently retained but a slight recollection of Daniel, with whom, from his rank in the state, he must at one time have been acquainted. In fine, the concluding words, in which the prophet gives the interpretation of the inscription on the wall, and declares the reward with which it was recompensed, are wholly inexplicable unless on the assumption, that the kingdom though Belshazzar's *de jure*, was another's *de facto*; and that he exulted in any revolution to which it might be exposed, provided it was wrested from the usurper who retained it. "Thy *kingdom*," declares the prophet, "is divided, *and given to the Medes and Persians*. Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, *that he should be the third ruler* in the kingdom," ibid. 28. 29. If the king were conscious of the peril of his present elevation, which can hardly be doubted; to such a revolution, as was thus foretold, he might have trusted for his security.

In a word, the character ascribed equally to Labrosoarchod and Belshazzar, who are distinguished from all the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, by their debauchery, may be included among the proofs of their identity: a conclusion which is even strengthened, by the change, which it thus appears, from the difference of those names, the title of the same monarch sustained. We learn from the history of the Jewish monarchy, that it was customary with the Babylonian sovereigns, and among the fashions of those times, to change the names of kings on particular occasions: see 2 Kings, xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. Whatever may have been the original and proper title of the prince, who is the subject of the present remarks; which, from its distortion, in passing through the Greek medium by which it has reached us, it is difficult to

analyse: it is at least obvious of that, by which he was known to Daniel, that it corresponds with the effeminacy of character, which is ascribed to him, and to which all his misfortunes may be traced. It is obviously compounded with the title of the goddess Beltis, instead of that of the gods Bel, Nebo, or Nergal of which the royal Babylonian titles were generally composed: vid. Seld. de Dis Syr. syn. ii. c. 2. p. 245. Cleric. Ind. in Stanl. Or. Phil. v. Beltis. Scalig. Emend Temp. p. 577. seq.

In the preceding view of this intricate subject no difficulty appears to be left in the history of a prince, the determination of whose rank among the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, is of essential importance to the chronology of Daniel's prophecies. His accession, as determined from the Astronomical Canon, thence appears to be properly referred to the year B. C. 556. J. P. 4158: his deposition to the same year, according to Berosus, but to that B. C. 554 according to Daniel; and his demise, to that B. C. 538. J. P. 4176: see Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. ii. p. 477. 561. comp. n. on p. 111. l. 21.

Whatever be the embarrassment, in which it may be still supposed, the subject is involved, will, I am convinced, be found to arise from the maimed and garbled extract of Berosus's account of the Babylonian monarchs, which has reached us through Josephus and Abydenus, or their copyists.

P. 96. l. 9. As the Jews, after their subjugation by the king of Babylon, remained subject to his successors; it has been justly observed, though with reference to an earlier period, that Cyrus was not in a condition to give them their liberty, until the kingdom of Babylon was reduced under his authority: voy. Des-Vignol. uti supr. tom. ii. p. 582. d. That it had not submitted to him, on the reduction of Babylon, is obvious from the single testimony of Daniel, who declares, that on the fall of Belshazzar, "Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old." Dan. v. 31.

It is besides obvious, from the confession of the prophet, which he dates from "the first year of Darius of the seed of the Medes," that when this prince was elevated to the Babylonian throne, he had lost all hope of the liberation of his countrymen, unless through the divine interposition, Dan. ix. l. 16—19. That ex-

pectation necessarily vanished with the transfer of the kingdom to a Median prince; as Daniel must have known from his familiarity with the prophets, that deliverance was to be only expected through Cyrus. And his apprehensions were but too truly verified by the event. On the accession of Cyaxares to the throne, his elevated office in the state had exposed him to the jealousy of the nobles, to which he nearly fell a victim, ib. vi. 2. The Jews, at last owed their liberation to the kings of Persian descent; Cyrus, Artaxerxes and Darius Hystaspes, their great protectors and deliverers, having been of that race, as contradistinguished from the Median. Ezr. i. 1. vi. 1. vii. 1. seq.

The same conclusion may be established, on the authority of uninspired, and among them, of pagan authorities. It is asserted by Josephus, that Babylon was taken by the joint forces of Cyrus and Cyaxares, son of Astyages; Antiq. lib. x. c. 12. p. 350. c. This opinion of the Jewish historian, if not derived from Xenophon, is confirmed by him; although the Greek historian, with his wonted predilections for his hero, assigns the command of the confederate armies to Cyrus: Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. vii. p. 112. These premises are, unwarrantably pushed to the following conclusion, with a view to neutralise the testimony of Daniel, in declaring, that one of the forementioned princes received the kingdom of Babylon, which was of course conferred upon him by the other. Des-Vignolles, in citing an opinion of Lempereur which passes with him for proof, observes to this purpose; " Comme il est dit dans Daniel, qu'après la mort de Balthazar, ' Darius Medus accepit regnum :' Δαρεῖος ὁ Μῆδος παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν. De même dans un verset des additions, qui finit le chap. xiii. de Daniel, selon la Vulgate, et qui dans d'autres éditions, finit l'histoire de Susanne, où commence celle de Bel et du Dragon; il est dit, qu'après la mort d'Astyage, παρέλαβε Κύρος ὁ Πέρσης τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ' accepit Cyrus Persa regnum ejus.' Pourquoi ne pas donner le même sens, à des expressions tout à fait semblables. Et si Κύρος ὁ Πέρσης signifie, ' Cyrus, *roi* des Perses;' pourquoi ne veut-on pas, que Δαρεῖος ὁ Μῆδος, signifie Darius, *roi* des Mèdes?" Chron. tom. ii. p. 504. I am wholly deceived, or the diametrically opposite conclusion, follows from both these authorities. The principle

may be, indeed, readily conceded, that the epithets applied to both princes are equivalent. And as that which is applied to Cyaxares can only mean what it expresses, that he was by birth a Median; its equivalent, of course, as applied to Cyrus, can only mean, that he was by birth a Persian. In the former instance, the signification of the phrase is limited by the circumstances of the case; the kingdom to which Cyaxares succeeded, as that which Belshazzar inherited from Nebuchadnezzar, was that of *Babylon*, not Media. From the entire passage, consequently, no consequence seems to be so fairly deducible, as the proof to be drawn from it of the moderation of Cyrus; in conferring a kingdom upon one person, and in waiting for the death of another, before he took possession of his dominions. If we are allowed to judge of his conduct from analogy, we are only warranted in concluding, from his generosity at one time, and his moderation at the other, that he preferred no claim either to the kingdom of Media or Babylon, until he succeeded to them, on the death of their sovereigns: see Prid. Connex. pt. 1. b. 2. vol. i. p. 154. 183. Usser. Annal. ut supr. p. 145. d.

This epoch in his history, on which the date of the delivery of the Jews from captivity necessarily depends, may be determined from the length of his reign, when his authority was acknowledged, through every part of his empire. This term extended precisely to *seven* years; and necessarily closed, in the year wherein he was succeeded by his son Cambyses. The accession of this monarch is however determined in the Astronomical Canon; and accordingly fixed in the year B. C. 529. Des-Vignol. tom. ii. p. 349. On deducting 7 years from this date, we arrive at the year B. C. 536, for that of Cyrus's accession to the empire of the East; when he felt himself authorised to declare, that "the Lord God of Heaven had given him *all the kingdoms of the earth*:" Ezr. i. 2. On the attainment of this dominion, he grounds the prerogative which he assumed, of enlarging his Jewish subjects from their captivity.

P. 96. l. 20. See Prid. Connex. ubi supr. vol. i. p. 182.

P. 97. l. 28. By the discovery of the decree issued by Cyrus, for the liberation of the Jews from captivity at Ecbatana; some points of eastern history, which have given rise to much contro-

versy among the moderns, appear to be established. It serves to confirm the credit of Xenophon, on whose authority much of the knowledge transmitted by antiquity, on that portion of the globe, depends; more particularly in his account of Cyrus's visit to the Median capital, and his receiving the kingdom of Cyaxares in reversion, as a dowry with his daughter, whom he then married. It equally serves to disprove the supposition, that the decree for the liberation of the Jews was issued, immediately on the fall of Babylon, or previously to the arrival of Cyrus at Ecbatana; in the archives of which it was afterwards found, when the records of Babylon had been examined without success. Ezr. vi. 1. 2.

The scribes or annalists who were attached to the Persian court, to take down the royal decrees are mentioned by Ctesias: vid. Diodor. Hist. lib. ii. p. 118. al. 84. b. In the book of Esther, notice occurs of these works, and the interest which they excited in the oriental monarchs; ch. vi. 1. 2. Some judicious remarks, on the subject of them, may be found in the entertaining work of Prof. Heeren. Hist. Res. Pt. i. vol. i. p. 86. d.

Ecbatana and Susa were capital cities in Media, from an early age; Dejoces having founded the one, about 150 years before the accession of Cyrus; and having held his court there, while Artæus fixed the seat of his empire, in the other. Usser. Annal. p. 105. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. ii. p. 237. Between these cities and Babylon Cyrus divided his time, previously to the foundation of Persepolis; devoting seven months to Babylon, three to Susa, and two to Ecbatana: these last were the hottest months of summer, from the intenseness of which a retreat was sought in the cool northern region. Xen. Cyrop. lib. vii. conf. Athen. Deipn. lib. xii. p. 513. f. As the Israelites, on their deportation from Judea, were placed in the cities of the Medes, 2 Kings, xvii. 6, it is most probable that many of the captives were settled in Ecbatana as well as in Susa. In the latter city, it is not merely matter of conjecture, but historical fact, that many of them were settled. Esth. ii. 5. 6. Here Daniel was resident in the palace, while he filled a high office in the state; Dan. viii. 2. 27. As it is believed, that his influence and mediation with Cyrus had considerable effect, in procuring the liberation of his countrymen; it is not improbable, that in Media the in-

tention was formed to restore the Jews to their native land; perhaps with the advice and concurrence of the governing powers: see Prid. Con. pt. i. b. iii. p. 258. Usser. Annal. ut supr. p. 160. b.

P. 98. l. 10. The commencement of the captivity is determined with certainty, from the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, B. C. 606, when the Jews were reduced to a state of servitude: as its close is determined from the accession of Cyrus to the empire of the East, B. C. 536, when they recovered their liberty. Both these dates are established by the Astronomical Canon, in which the succession of Nebuchadnezzar to his paternal throne, is dated *two years* subsequently to his expedition to Syria, B. C. 604: and the subjugation of Babylon by Cyrus, as many years previously to his attaining universal dominion. B. C. 538. Voy. Des-Vignol. tom. ii. p. 349.

The extremes of the interval assigned to the captivity being thus fixed, by the Astronomical Canon, and referred to the years B. C. 606 and 536: its duration is consequently proved, by that accurate chronological scale, to have extended precisely to seventy years.

The earlier of these epochs has been, however, the subject of controversy; as it has been contended, that the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar should be advanced two years, and dated from his accession to the Babylonian throne; a proportional advancement of the years of the last kings of Judah thus becomes necessary; as they are identified with correspondent years in the reign of the Babylonian king. It may be, therefore, expedient to establish the contested epoch on independent and incontestible grounds. This object may be, however, affected by the Sabbatical Cycle; and even by the Astronomical Canon, by the authority of which it is supposed to be subverted.

With the sabbatical year B. C. 591, the eighth year of the reign of Zedekiah has been already identified; n. to p. 78. l. 12. On computing backward, his 1st year will be found to coincide with that B. C. 598. His predecessor Jehoiakim, under whom the captivity commenced, reigned 11 years, 2 Kings, xxiii. 36, computed backward from the preceding date, the 1st year of the latter king coincided with that B. C. 609, and his 4th with that

The events of the two days, on which the prophecy was recited by Baruch, are not only limited to the same year, by the nature of the incidents, and singleness of the prophet's orders to the scribe; but by the express testimony of Josephus, who refers them to the fifth year of Jehoiakim. Antiq. lib. x. c. 7. p. 337. a. This year, it has been already shown, was sabbatical; and as the commencement of such years was computed from *the 10th day of the seventh month;* Lev. xxv. 9: the public recitation of the prophecy of the 70 years' captivity, by Baruch in the temple, having occurred upon *that day*, it was not only delivered, at the commencement, but on the *first day*, of the sabbatical year.

P. 100. l. 20. The term of the Captivity, as formerly shown, intervened between the years, B. C. 606 and 536. These years, as coincident with those of the J. P. 4108 and 4178, corresponded, from autumn, with the 6th year of the sabbatical cycle. As the following years, consequently, were sabbatical from autumn, the intervening period,—between the return of the captives, in the year B. C. 536, and the commencement of the sabbatical year, in the autumn B. C. 535—remained to be employed in tillage. After this, it was necessary, that the land should remain untilled, as the year was sabbatic; viz. from the autumn of the year B. C. 535, to that of the following year B. C. 534. The Jews must have consequently remained unprovided with the means of sustenance, for nearly a year and a half, had the time of their return been deferred, beyond the year B. C. 536, to the following autumn. After the year of rest had expired, half a year would have been requisite to render the land productive for the supply of their necessities.

The extreme beauty of this arrangement cannot be sufficiently admired. It was the declared purpose of God, *that*, at the *commencement* of the term, "the land should enjoy her sabbaths," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, as it was his intention, that, at the *close* of it, his people on the sole terms of believing, should be led into *a rest*, Heb. iv. 2. 3. 9. By no other arrangement, than that which was positively adopted, could this object be so fully effected. At either extreme of the *ten cycles*, to which the Captivity extended, in being fixed at *seventy* years; but a single

year was allowed the captives, to enable them to fulfil the divine purposes, and at the most suitable time. That interval having been necessary to effect their removal from the land at the one time; and their restoration to it at the other; and closing, at both, just as a year which was sabbatical had *commenced*.

P. 101. l. 20. See n. on p. 21. l. 12.

P. 102. l. 28. See n. on p. 21. l. 12.

P. 104. l. 2. The state of scepticism and depravity to which the Jewish nation were sunk, is forcibly illustrated, by the opposition in which it is set, with the faith and piety of the prophet Jeremiah; at the great moral crisis, which preceded the destruction of the temple and city, and the utter desolation of the land of Judea. The contrast acquires a growing interest, when we regard it with a view to the *sabbatical institutions* of the Mosaic Law: the subject on which the prophet dwells being not only pursued by him, to an extent, but discussed with a minuteness, which proves his sense of its importance. While two chapters are devoted by him to the details of it; many of the more prominent events, which distinguished a time of unequalled inquietude and peril, are passed over in silence. It is of itself sufficient to establish the pre-eminence of that part of the Levitical economy, to which so much importance has been annexed in the present discussion; and to demonstrate, how little probable those circumstances, on which such great stress has been laid in it, were likely to be regarded by the prophet with indifference.

It has been already observed, that when Jerusalem was menaced by the Babylonian army, with invasion; the inhabitants sought to avert the impending storm, and propitiate the divine favor, by a more reverential observance of the *sabbatical institutions* enjoined by Moses. The solemn covenant, into which they had entered, in the eighth year of Zedekiah, has been intimated, when the invading army had made considerable progress in Judea; the principal cities of which had fallen into the enemy's hand, with the exception of Lachish, Azeka, and Jerusalem. As the sabbatical year was coming on, the resolution was taken to prepare for its observance, with more than usual solemnity: accordingly, as the prophet declares, "when they had cut a calf in twain. The princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs,

and the priests, and all the people of the land, passed between the parts of the calf; Now when all the princes, and all the people, which had entered into the covenant, heard that every one should let his manservant, and every one his maidservant, go free, that none should serve themselves of them any more, then they obeyed, and let them go." Jer. xxxiv. 18. 19. 10. 11. As this period, like every sabbatism, was a season of rest and rejoicing, from the toil and sorrow, entailed on our race, by the original transgression; it became necessary, that all Hebrew servants should be restored to liberty at the time, that they might join in the general festivity.

The divine vengeance having been averted, by these pious intentions, the siege was in consequence intermitted; an army under Apries, king of Egypt, having marched to the relief of the city. When the Babylonian soldiers had consequently withdrawn from the siege, to meet the approaching enemy; their reliance for help was transferred, from a trust in the divine support, to a dependance on their Egyptian allies. To use the terms, in which the prophet reproaches them;—"But ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, *to return, and brought them into subjection*, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids." Ibid. 16. To the declaration of their offence, he accordingly adds the threat of its retribution, in the total desolation of the land. "Therefore thus saith the Lord . . . . . I will give the men that transgress my covenant . . . I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life: and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth. And Zedekiah king of Judah and his princes will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which are gone up from you. Behold, I will command, saith the Lord, and cause them *to return to this city*; and they shall fight against it, and burn it with fire: and I will make the cities of Judah *a desolation without an inhabitant*." Ibid. 20. 21. 22.

The occurrence, by which the prophet's character is set in a different light, is circumstantially detailed, and as accurately

dated, appears to have preceded the event which has just been examined. "In the tenth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, which was the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. For then the king of Babylon's army besieged Jerusalem: and Jeremiah the prophet was shut up in the court of the prison, which was in the king of Judah's house. So Hanameel mine uncle's son, came to me in the court of the prison according to the word of the Lord, and said unto me, Buy my field, I pray thee, that is in Anathoth, which is in the country of Benjamin: for the right of inheritance is thine, and the redemption is thine; buy it for thyself," Jer. xxxii. 1. 2. 8. The situation, in which the prophet thus found himself placed, was obviously the most trying to his faith in the divine promises. He was not only called upon to redeem the inheritance, and at a time when his own necessities were most importunate; but he was required to purchase ground which was now in the enemy's hand, and laid waste by their incursions. Anathoth was among the cities, allotted to the priesthood of the descendants of Aaron, which lay within the boundaries of the tribe of Benjamin. From its site, as placed at a short distance from Jerusalem, and lying in the way of the Babylonians, it had been seized upon by the invaders. Jeremiah was notwithstanding called upon to redeem the land as the patrimony of his forefathers. When the present possessor was incompetent to retain it, the law made it incumbent on the next in succession, who possessed the means to purchase it; that it might not be alienated into a different line, or the intermixture of property among the tribes lead to the confusion of one with another. With this plea the prophet was urged, by his uncle's son; "buy my field, I pray thee, that is in Anathoth, which is in the country of Benjamin; for the right of inheritance is thine, and the redemption is thine, buy it for thyself." Ibid. 8. It would appear, from the situation of the property, that offer of redemption was made, in the present instance, in sarcasm or mockery: as the seller was in no condition to transfer the right of possession, his patrimony having been seized and forcibly detained by a hostile army. But to the person who was animated with the hope, and felt the confidence, with which the prophet was inspired, this objection raised no obstacle to the performance of what the law required. As he possessed

the means of redemption, he had the transfer duly executed; and as he declares, "I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances." Ibid. 10. After the execution of the deed, the different instruments under which the purchase had been conveyed, "that which was sealed and that which was open" were committed to Baruch, with the charge, "to put them in an earthen vessel, that they might continue many days." Ibid. 14. It would appear, that they were committed to some place of security, if not buried in the earth, until the land, wrested from the hostile hands by which it was forcibly held in subjection, should return to the rightful owners. To this end, he could not be unconscious, the divine dispensations uniformly tended; and he had received an express revelation, that the word of God himself was solemnly pledged to that purpose. "For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; *Houses and fields and vineyards shall be possessed again in this land and fields shall be bought in this land*, whereof ye say, It is desolate without man or beast; it is given into the hand of the Chaldeans. Men shall buy fields for money, and subscribe evidences, and seal them, and take witnesses in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, and in the cities of the mountains, and in the cities of the valley, and in the cities of the south: for *I will cause their captivity to return*, saith the Lord." Ibid. 15. 43. 44.

As the whole of this interesting transaction tends to show how deeply and extensively the sabbatical character was impressed on the Jewish dispensation; it serves to prove, in what estimation that character was held by the prophet. The law for the transfer and redemption of the land involved many useful and significant purposes. In it the remembrance was perpetuated, that God was the sole proprietor of the soil, of which the inhabitants held but the use and occupancy. It preserved the memorial of the primeval sabbath, when the labor and sorrow entailed by the fall were replaced by rest and rejoicing; and exhibited a type, as it imparted a foretaste, of the eternal sabbath, when praise and joyfulness would be experienced, in a better and heavenly country. A foundation was thus laid for the reception of the Messiah; who was to be identified not merely as descended from a peculiar

stock, but as coming from a particular *tribe*, and to be recognised by the *place* of his birth and the *scene* of his ministry. The land thus secured by a peculiar tenure, God made the depository of his truth, to be confirmed by a succession of divine interpositions, as well prophetical as miraculous. He there set that preparatory discipline in operation, which while it formed a guide and tutor to lead the Israelite to Christ, raised a partition between him and the corruptions of the Gentile. Having particularly sanctified it by the institution of various and successive *sabbatisms*, which provided for the perpetuity of a system thus wise and gracious, and which were alike commemorative of the past, and prefigurative of the future; he was resolved, that the infraction of the covenant, under which the obligation to their observance was contracted, should not pass unrequited with a lighter punishment, than the expulsion of its violators from the land, which they defiled with their presence.

## LECTURE V.

P. 108. l. 21. Prid. Connex. vol. iii. p. 223.

P. 109. l. 8. Seld. de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 15. § 11. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. vi. c. 7.

P. 110. l. 12. Prid. uti supr. Leidek. ut supr. lib. vii. c. 7. p. 560.

Ibid. l. 23. Scalig. Emend. Temp. lib. vi. p. 500. conf. Seld. lib. iii. c. 13. § 8.

P. 111. l. 21. The date of the prophecy, which determines the duration of the profanation of the temple, by Antiochus Epiphanes, is referred by Daniel to "the third year of Belshazzar." Dan. viii. 1. On taking the accession of this king as determined, supr. n. p. 95. l. 16, the revelation of this event was made to the prophet, B. C. 554.

Of this king, whom the Chaldee historians mention, under the name of Labrosoarchod, no notice is taken in the Astronomical

Canon. His reign apparently merges, in that of Nabonadus, one of the conspirators by whom he was deposed. It may be concluded, that the usurper held a high office in the state, from the circumstance of his elevation to the vacated throne; and, as the young prince to whom he succeeded, is represented as having been a mere boy, the usurper was most probably regent during his short reign; or held a high rank in the state or army. On the lawful prince being set aside, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that his reign would be computed, from the demise of the last reigning monarch. As we may thus easily account for the suppression of Labrosoarchod's name in the Canon; the objection arising from the short period of nine months assigned to it by Berosus, is easily answered. In the extract made by Josephus from this writer, the numbers defining the length of the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar's successors are palpably corrupted: as appears from the difference between them and those of the Canon. Nor can any plausible reason be given, why his testimony should be admitted, when he assigns nine months to Labrosoarchod, but rejected when he reduces the reign of Evilmerodach, to *two* years and that of Neriglissar to *four*, because the Canon extends the former to *eleven* and the latter to *ten:* as a like discrepancy exists, respecting the first-named monarch's reign, between him and Daniel. By the prophet, who bestows not the least notice on the usurper, no inducement could be felt to antedate the epoch of his accession to that of his regency: the years, which the commencement of his reign had been put back, would be consequently assigned by him to the legitimate sovereign.

From the fitness manifested in the choice of the times, when particular prophecies were delivered; it might be reasonably inferred, that the observation equally extends to the revelations which were made to Daniel, in the reign of Belshazzar. In the two which he then received,—one of which is but the sequel of the other,—the great revolutions are foretold, which the empires of the world were destined to undergo, previously to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. The throne of Nebuchadnezzar, was occupied by the last prince of his line; under whom it was shaken to its foundation. As some interval must be supposed to elapse between the delivery of a prediction and its accomplish-

ment; the period between the accession of this monarch and his deposition was accordingly chosen with great fitness and propriety for the delivery. The former event preceded the transfer of empire to the Persians, just twenty years; in it a prediction of Jeremiah was fulfilled relative to the continuance of the last Chaldean dynasty; under which, the prophet had been liberated at the captivity, as Daniel was subsequently promoted to honor. As the revolutions in the eastern empires which were consequently revealed to the latter prophet were only of importance, as their fate was interwoven with that of the chosen people; the disclosure of their destiny is merely rendered introductory to the revelations which he has made, respecting the kingdom of Christ, and usurpation of Antichrist.

On the latter subject, occasion will arise to enlarge hereafter. In the prophecy which is before us, the Jews received a preparatory warning of the severest persecution to which they would be exposed; in which the sanctuary would be profaned, the daily service of the temple superseded, and their extirpation, as a nation, attempted. As these events were without precedent or parallel, in the entire period of their history, which succeeded the delivering of the prophecy, until the final destruction of the temple and desolation of Judea; little surprise can be felt, that they should form the subject of an express revelation. In the explicit disclosure consequently made of them, by the prophet, they are merely preceded by a declaration of the political revolutions, which would lead to the establishment of the dynasty in power, by whom they would be carried into execution: from being apprised of which, those whom they menaced, might be enabled to anticipate the time when they might be expected, and consequently might be avoided. It was necessarily contrived, that the first of the revolutions, which were thus foretold, should succeed the delivery of the prediction in which it was foreshown: as we have already observed, it followed it, at the interval of twenty years: it will not be, therefore, denied, that it was placed from it at the most suitable distance.

P. 113. l. 5. Without any view to the illustration or confirmation of the prediction of Daniel; Ussher has placed, in the year B. C. 168, the succession of the Maccabees and pollution

of the Jewish temple, with the transfer of the eastern empire from the Macedonians to the Romans. The two events stand connected in his work, merely as occurrences of the same year; not in the dependance of cause and effect, where a crime was visited by its punishment. After having noticed the burning and spoiling of Jerusalem, by Antiochus's general Apollonius; he adds, "Judas quoque Maccabæus cum novem aliis secedens, in montibus ferarum more transigebat vitam cum suis comitibus; qui gramineo alimento vesci perseverabant, ne participes essent contaminationis, (2 Maccab. v. 27.) sive ciborum vetitorum; sive idololatriæ, sive etiam contaminationis *et eam secutæ desolationis ipsius Sanctuarii:* (1 Maccab. i. 39. 41.) quæ restitutionem et purificationem ejusdem ab eodem Judâ Maccabæo postea factam (1 Mac. iv. 43. 54.) trium annorum et sex mensium spatio antecessit." Annal. p. ii. p. 23. d. And shortly afterwards,—to the account of an eclipse, which had been predicted by C. Sulpicius Gallus; and by which the date of the defeat of the Macedonians, by the Romans, is fixed to June 22nd.—he subjoins this observation; "Sequente die, victo Perseo, (1 Maccab. viii. 5.) *regnum Macedonicum cecidit:* cùm jam inde à Carano per annos 626 stetisset. Imperii verò Macedonici reliquiæ, Romano jam surgente imperio, in Seleucidis Syriæ et Ptolemæis Ægypti adhuc superfuerunt." Ibid. p. 24. d. comp. Prid. Con. p. ii. b. iii. p. 245. 246.

P. 114. l. 12. On the intrigues and disgraceful contest of Jason and Menalaus, for the pontificate; and their base apostasy to the Gentile religion: see Prid. Con. ib. p. 219. seq.

P. 116. l. 30. The different dates inserted in the predictions of the prophets contain a sufficient proof, that they were delivered at different times; from whence the inference is direct, that they were published as they were delivered: those that had an earlier date having necessarily preceded those that had a later. As the prophecies thus made their appearance in different portions, and were composed on different occasions; it might be concluded, had there been no positive evidence of the fact, that a prophet writing under the circumstances in which Daniel was placed, would have occasionally published in either of the two languages, with which his countrymen became familiar, on their transporta-

tion to Babylon. After the reduction of that city, by Cyrus, the languages, current in the Persian empire, were like its capitals of three kinds; the Zend having been spoken at Ecbatana, the Pehlavi at Susa, and the Chaldee at Babylon: see Heeren, Hist. Res. vol. i. p. 196. c. At the time when the Chaldean capital was taken, and the captivity was nearly brought to a close; the orders issued by Cyrus, to spare all those who spoke the Syriac, if they do not identify any particular dialect of the Shemitic, serve at least to prove that more than one was spoken at the time, in Babylon. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. vii. p. 114. b. It has been conjectured, that in these orders, the safety of the Jews was particularly consulted. Des-Vignol. Chron. Tom. ii. p. 566. As the Chaldee and Syriac were identical before the latter dialect of the Aramean was corrupted from the Greek; it is probable, the Hebrew was meant under the latter term at the capture of Babylon. The difference between it and those dialects was so great as to render it unintelligible to the natives, by whom they were exclusively spoken; 2 Kings, xviii. 26—28. Nehem. xiii. 24. While Cyrus could have had no object in sparing the Chaldees; it was a measure of sound policy to save the Jews, whom he afterwards liberated and restored to their country.

On the choice of the language, in which the prophecy before us was written, it has been justly observed by Grier; "Idiomate Chaldaico, quo inde à Capite ii. 4. usus fuerat hactenùs Propheta noster, seposito, resumitur nunc lingua vernacula Ebræa, fortè, quia sequentia in gratiam præcipuè Ebræi populi, ut velut arcana secum asservaret, sunt consignata, quæque gentiles resciscere non erat opus." Prælect. Acad. in Dan. p. 584. d.

P. 117. l. 10. The force of Dan. viii. 14. derives illustration from the context, ibid. 13: the *answer*, expressed, in the one verse being necessarily limited by the *question* proposed in the other. In the one phrase, the term תמיד is used to express "the *continual sacrifice*;" of which Marinus justly observes; "Eleganter etiam ponitur absolutè pro *jugi sacrificio*, quod offerebatur quotidie, *mane et vesperi* . . . Ital. *continuo*." Lex. Hebr. sub voc. With the term, thus understood, the phrase in the other passage precisely accords: עד ערב בקר אלפים ושלש מאות, i. e. "until *evenings* and *mornings* two thousand three hundred:" the plural

numeral being joined, according to the idiom of the Hebrew, with a noun in the singular. As תמיד is used absolutely, so ערב בקר may be understood elliptically, according to the analogy of מנחת ערב, in the following chapter: ibid. ix. 21. The *question* being thus supposed to be strictly put; "How long shall be the vision [concerning] the *continual* [offering]?" the *answer* must be supposed equally precise; "Until two two-thousand three hundred evening [and] morning [offerings]."

This explanation derives authority from the version given of the passage by ancient and modern translators: such of them as desert the literal sense being forced to destroy it by unnatural interpolations. It is accordingly rendered in the Bishops' Bible, "Unto *the evening and the morning* two thousand three hundred:" although, what is thus conceded, in the text, is withdrawn, in a gloss put in the margin; deference being therein paid to the Vulgate and version of Luther. In the Syriac the same justice is done to the original, ܠܥܪܒܐ ܘܠܨܦܪܐ ܐܠܦ ܬܪܝܢ ܡܐܐ ' Usque ad vesperas et matutina bis mille trecenta.' In the Spanish of the Jews' translation, the sense is a little distorted; "hasta *tarde de la mañana* dos mil y trezientos:" that of De Valera takes less liberty with the original; "hasta *tarde y mañana* dos mil y trezientos." In the French of the native protestant church, it is justly rendered; "jusqu'à deux mille et trois *soirs et matins*."

Among the translations which have given rather a paraphrase than a version of the passage, the Septuagint takes the lead; in which it is rendered; ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι καὶ τετρακόσιαι: although some of the Hexaplar copies, for the last word, substituted τριακόσιαι cf. Montf. Hexapl. Orig. p. ii. p. 335. With it the Latin Vulgate literally agrees; "Usque ad vesperam et mane *dies* duo millia trecenti." As also the Italian of Diodati; "fino a dumila trecento *giorni di* sera e mattina." The German of Luther is even more loose; "Zwey tausend und drey hundert *Tage, vom* Abend gegen Morgen *zu rechnen*."

Were there no other ground of choice, the antecedent versions, as most literal, would be entitled to a preference. We have already seen, they best accord with the context and scope of the prediction.

P. 117. l. 16. See n. on p. 62. l. 5. p. 176. l. 11.

P. 118. l. 19. 1 Maccab. i. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 6. p. 408.

P. 119. l. 19. The year of the purification of the temple, by Judas Maccabeus, as given in 1 Maccab. iv. 52, is reduced to its equivalent B. C. 165. by Ussher, Annal. p. ii. p. 46. and Prid. Connex. vol. iii. p. 277. cf. Hieron. infr. n. in. p. 121. l. 26.

According to Dodwell's Tables of the Chaldee Cycle, used in the first Book of Maccabees; Cisleu 25th, in the year 148 of the æra of the Seleucidæ, corresponded with *December 12th:* as Cisleu 1st corresponded with Nov. 18th. De Cycl. p. 843.

Computed from this date, assumed as a basis, the following scale exhibits the period of 1150 days, taken from it in ascent:

| Ær. Seleuc. | B. C. | | Days. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 145 | 168 | . . from Oct. 17th . . | 75 |
| 146 | 167 | . . entire year . . . . | 365 |
| 147 | 166 | . . entire year . . . . | 366 |
| 148 | 165 | . . to Dec. 12th. . . . | 344 |
| | | Days | 1150 |

It appears from Dodwell's Tables, ibid. p. 843, that Tisri 1st B. C. 168. fell on Sept. 24th: and consequently, that *Oct. 17th corresponded with Tisri 23rd.* In the Jewish Calendar, the feast of Tabernacles is included between Tisri 15th and 22nd inclusive; the following day, Tisri 23rd, is assigned to the *Rejoicing of the Law.* Scalig. Can. Isagog. p. 42. It is thus obvious, from the preceding scale, that from the festival of the *Rejoicing of the Law*, Tisri 23rd (Oct. 17th) B. C. 168, to that of the encænia or dedication, Cisleu 25th (Dec. 12th) B. C. 165, there are 1150 days, or "2300 mornings and evenings."

P. 120. l. 7. Vid. Leidek. Rep. Heb. lib. ix. c. 7. vol. i. p. 564.

Ibid. l. 14. The date of the desecration of the temple (Cisleu 15th Ær. Seleuc. 145.), is marked with no less precision, than that of its purification (Cisleu 25th Ær. Seleuc. 148.) 1 Maccab. i. 54. iv. 52. The former date is not only expressed by Josephus, according to the Jewish Calendar, but reduced by him to the Macedonian; and identified with the month Apellæus. The testimony of

both writers is thus summed up by St. Jerome: "Legamus Machabæorum libros, Josephi historiam: ibique scriptum reperiemus, centesimo quadragesimo tertio anno à Seleuco (qui primus regnavit in Syriâ post Alexandrum) ingressum Antiochum Hierosolymam, universa vastâsse, reversumque anno tertio, in templo posuisse statuam Jovis, et usque ad Judam Machabæum, id est, usque ad annum centesimum quadragesimum octavum, per annos vastitatis Hierusalem sex, contaminationis autem templi tres, duo millia trecentos dies, et tres menses esse completos, post quos templum purgatum est." Com. in Dan. viii. 13. tom. iv. p. 513. c.

According to the Tables of Dodwell, the first of Cisleu, or Apellæus, having fallen, in Seleuc. 145. upon Nov. 22nd, the 15th of the same month fell on Dec. 6th. De Cycl. p. 843. 847. comp. supr. n. to p. 119. l. 19.

P. 121. l. 26. On the mere ground of similarity, without any immediate view to the time when the persecution commenced, the analogy has been traced between the feast of *Tabernacles* and the *Encœnia* or *Dedication*. Ussher, in describing the institution of the latter, observes; "Deinde statuit Judas ejùsque fratres et tota ecclesia Israëlis, ut in totâ Judæorum gente quotannis agerentur dies dedicationis altaris per dies octo, à 25 mensis Chasleu, cum lætitiâ et gaudio (1 Macc. iv. 59. 2 Macc. x. 8.) postquàm ipsi dies illos octo egissent *ad formam festi Tabernaculorum*; recordantes, quòd non ita pridem solennitatis illius tempore in montibus et speluncis ferarum modo delituissent. Quapropter thyrsos et ramos pulchros et palmas ferentes, hymnos canebant ei qui prosperum illis successum dederat ad purificandum locum suum. (2 Macc. x. 6. 7.) Unde et in litteris Senatus Hierosolymitani ad Judæos Ægyptienses *appellantur isti dies Scenopegiæ sive Tabernaculorum mensis Chasleu*. [2 Maccab. i. 9. 18.]" Annal. p. ii. p. 46. conf. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. uti supr. c. 8. p. 566. comp. n. on p. 123. l. 24.

P. 123. l. 24. The supposed affinity between the religion of the Jews and the worship of Bacchus is apparent in the threat uttered by Nicanor, who was sent into Judæa to reduce Judas Maccabeus: "He stretched out his right hand toward the temple

and made an oath in this manner: If ye will not deliver me Judas as a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect *a notable temple unto Bacchus.*" 2 Maccab. xiv. 33. comp. Ib. 3—14. Phil. Jud. Leg. ad. Caium. p. 1035. e.

One of the most learned and inquisitive of the ancients, in an inquiry respecting the God of the Jews, sets out by asserting his identity with Evius or Bacchus. Plut. Sympos. probl. 6. tom. iii. pt. 2. p. 744. al. 671. c. In adducing proofs of the affinity of the Jewish and Ethnic religion, he instances the festivities with which the sabbath and feast of Tabernacles were celebrated. On the subject of the former, he observes;—*Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαββάτων ἑορτὴν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπροσδιόνυσον εἶναι. Σάββως γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλοὶ τοὺς Βάκχους καλοῦσι, καὶ ταύτην ἀφιᾶσι τὴν φωνὴν ὅταν ὀργιάζωσι τῷ θεῷ.... Καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τις ἂν φαίη, τοῦτο μὴ πεποιῆσθαι πρός τινα σέβησιν, ἢ κατέχει τοὺς βακχεύοντες. Αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυροῦσιν ὅταν σάββατον τιμῶσι, μάλιστα μὲν πίνειν καὶ οἰνοῦσθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους.* Id. ibid. p. 746. al. 672. a. Distinguishing the latter, as the greatest and most perfect festival of the Jews, he describes the rites with which it was kept; and declares, that "the *time* and *manner* of observing it agreed with that of Bacchus:" —*τῆς μεγίστης καὶ τελειοτάτης ἑορτῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρός ἐστι καὶ ὁ τρόπος Διονύσῳ προσήκων. Τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην νηστείαν ἀκμάζοντι τρυγητῷ τραπέζας τε προτίθενται παντοδαπῆς ὑπώρας, ὑπὸ σκηναῖς, καὶ καθιᾶσιν ἐκ κλημάτων μάλιστα καὶ κιττοῦ διαπεπλεγμέναις· καὶ τὴν προτέραν τῆς ἑορτῆς Σκηνὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀλλὴν ἑορτήν, οὐκ ἄν δὶ αἰνιγμάτων, ἀλλα ἄντικρυς Βάκχου καλουμένου, τελοῦσιν. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρατηροφορία τις ἑορτὴ καὶ θυρσοφορία παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν ᾗ θύρσους ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσίασιν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ ὅ, τι δρῶσιν οὐκ ἴσμεν· εἰκὸς δὲ βακχείαν εἶναι τὰ ποιούμενα· καὶ γὰρ σάλπιγξι μικραῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς Διωνυσίοις, ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν θεὸν χρῶνται· καὶ κιθαρίζοντες ἕτεροι προσίασιν, οὓς αὐτοὶ Λευίτας προσονομάζουσιν, εἴτε παρὰ τὸν Λύσιον, εἴτε μᾶλλον παρὰ τὸν Εὔιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως γεγενημένης.* Id. ibid. p. 745. al. 671. e.

The criminal excess, to which the festivities observed on those days were carried, tended in no small degree to fasten upon the

Jewish religion, the reproaches thus cast upon it, by the Pagans. In the opinions, if not the observances, of the modern Jews, the slander finds no small justification. With reference to the feast of Purim, it is observed by a learned Hebrew antiquary; "Porrò decreverunt Magistri, ut dies hi sint *sabbathici*, nec iis quis opus aliquod faciat, adjectâ interminatione, qui id non observet, haud videbit סימן ברכה לעולם 'signum benedictionis in æternum.' Ulterius nolunt hisce diebus alicubi jejunia, luctus vel planctus esse, sed potiùs *institui lauta convivia, et dari eleemosynas.* Quin etiam, quod pudendum est, ipse Maimonius scribit, ושותה יין עד שישתכר וירדם בשכרותו 'Quod bibere quis debeat, usque dum ebrius fiat et alto sopore obruatur in suâ ebrietate.' Alias dicunt, 'usque dum discernere non possit, benedictus sit Mordochai et maledictus sit Haman.' Hoc est, uti exponunt, usque dùm nesciat supputare numerum, qui ex literis singularum vocum exoritur. Neque hodie *absistunt Judæi hisce Bacchanalibus*, uti videre est apud Buxtorfium." Leidek. Rep. Heb. lib. ix. c. 8. p. 566. d.

Herod, who was disposed, from his lax religious opinions, to adopt these injurious principles, tended not a little to confirm and extend them, by the golden vine, with which he adorned the porch, raised by him before the temple. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. c. 14. p. 543. g. It is by a gross mistake, that Florus ascribes this ornament to the temple, as early as the times of Pompey; who, he declares, beheld the mystic emblem, on his entering Jerusalem. Hist. lib. iii. c. 4. The vine, with which he was presented by Aristobulus, and which was dedicated in the capitol, does not appear to have been taken from the temple. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 5. p. 471.

P. 124. l. 11. The authority of Plutarch has been already cited to prove, that the Pagans supposed a perfect conformity existed between the feast of Tabernacles and the festival of Bacchus. The Lenæa, or Dionysia in the fields, are doubtless meant by him; which were celebrated, at the time of the vintage, upon the fifth of the month Posideon: Rous. Archæol. Attic. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 73. But Posideon of the Attic Calendar corresponded with Dius of the Macedonian; (Dodwell, ut supr. p. 838.) And as the latter month had its 1st day coincident with Oct. 23rd,

Seleuc. 145, (id. ibid. p. 843): its 5th day, when the Dionysia were celebrated, fell upon Oct. 27th. Between this day and Oct. 17th, when 'the Rejoicing of the Law' was held, at the close of the feast of Tabernacles, there were but 10 days.

P. 125. l. 9. See n. on p. 119. l. 19.

Ibid. l. 19. See n. on p. 124. l. 11. comp. 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

Ibid. l. 23. See n. on p. 119. l. 19.

P. 127. l. 7. See n. ibid.

Ibid. l. 12. See n. on p. 120. l. 14.

Ibid. l. 14. Comp. n. on p. 120. l. 14. p. 119. l. 19.

Ibid. l. 18. See n. on p. 119. l. 19.

P. 130. l. 1. See n. on p. 113. l. 5.

It may be observed in this place, that a great revolution was effected, at the crisis of the death of Alexander, and the establishment of the four kingdoms, into which the Macedonian empire was divided: to which, it may be thought, that Daniel not only refers, but that he identifies, in it, the epoch of 2300 years; at the close of which "the sanctuary would be cleansed," and the power of Antichrist be broken. Dan. viii. 21—26.

This view of the prophecy of "2300 mornings and evenings," which proceeds on the supposition, that the original phrase is equivalent to "days," and should be understood as signifying *years*, was generally admitted by the ancients, and is adopted by Bishop Newton: Dissert. on Proph. vol. i. p. 345. seq. conf. Hieron. in Dan. viii. 13. And in his opinion, I was formerly disposed to acquiesce, from admitting, too inconsiderately, his assumption, that the prophecy was incapable of explanation in a literal sense: Treat. on Millen. p. 50. n. 109. It must be, however, acknowledged,—on assuming the Bishop's principle, that the cleansing of the sanctuary is to be expected in A. M. 6000:—that, if his rule be inverted, and 2300 years be *subducted* from that date, assumed as a basis; the remainder will furnish, as the epoch, from which the prophetical period should be computed, A. M. 3700. And it must be equally allowed, that to this year that revolution in the Macedonian empire may be referred, to which the prophet unquestionably alludes in his context: "And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is

between his eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Dan. viii. 21. 22.

The epoch of "the four *kingdoms*," into which the empire of Alexander was divided, cannot be antedated, to the reduction of Cyprus by Demetrius, and the assumption of *kingly* authority by Antigonus and Ptolemy, on the death of the mother and sons of the Macedonian conqueror: vid. Usser. Annal. p. 452. c. ad A. M. 3698. In the Astronomical Canon, however, the rise of the kingdom of the Ptolemies in *Egypt*, is dated from Nov. A. M. 3699: Usser. ibid. p. 454. As this year extended to Nov. A. M. 3700: the prophetical period, when deduced from it, and computed at 2300 years, will be found to close with A. M. 6000: when Bishop Newton, after the ancient fathers, supposed, "the cleansing of the sanctuary" might be expected.

Those who suppose, that prophecy is susceptible of a *secondary sense*, will find little to except against, in this exposition. On admitting which principle, the only plausible objection to which the preceding exposition seems liable, lies in the *paraphrase* wherein the term, of days or years, defined by the prophet, is expressed, and it would seem, in a manner contrary to his usual practice. Much, it may be at the same time allowed, may be advanced, in favor of such senses in the prophetical writings: the method of typical representation, to which they conform, being no less consistent with the methods of the divine operation, than the nature of the Jewish religion, in which they were incorporated. As it cannot be doubted, that the Omnipotent Ruler is competent to work the most complex ends by the simplest means; it cannot be disputed, that the events of one age may be controlled or ordered, in such a manner, as to be representative of the incidents of another. And when we consider the peculiar discipline, in which the Jews were trained up, that "the Law" was regarded by them as having "a shadow of good things to come;" it will be admitted, that those prophecies, which were capable of a secondary explanation, were in strict consistency and keeping with such a service. For, it was obviously conformable to its typical character, that, while they foretold events of immediate concern to the church in its infant state, they should be so constituted, as to shadow

out occurrences, that awaited it in a state of maturity: see n. on p. 158. l. 20.

P. 130. l. 26. See Prid. Con. uti supr. p. 351. seq. conf. Usser. Annal. pt. ii. p. 67.

P. 131. l. 5. Vid. Prid. Con. p. 352. conf. Leidek. Rep. Heb. lib. vii. c. 5. tom. ii. p. 599.

## LECTURE VI.

P. 139. l. 5. The predictions of the Hebrew prophets, as describing the success of the heathen armies, in executing the divine denunciations on their countrymen, were doubtless subjects of great interest to the leaders, by whom they were conducted to victory. The attention of the Gentiles was thus drawn to the great truths, which it was the main object of prophecy to reveal, relative to the establishment of a kingdom upon earth, to which all mankind would owe subjection. The single instance of Jeremiah is sufficient to prove, that the Jewish prophets were objects of considerable attention, to the ethnic princes: a charge was given by the king of Babylon, respecting him, to the general who was entrusted with the reduction of Jerusalem. "Now Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, gave charge concerning Jeremiah to Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard, saying, Take him, and look well to him, and do him no harm; but do unto him even as he shall say unto thee. So Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard sent, and Nebushasban, Rab-saris, and Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag, and all the king of Babylon's princes; Even they sent, and took Jeremiah out of the court of the prison, and committed him unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, that he should carry him home: so he dwelt among the people." Jer. xxxix. 11—14.

This statement derives confirmation from the pagan writers: from whose testimony, it appears, that Nebuchadnezzar, in consequence of the success promised to his arms by Jeremiah, induced Astibares, king of Media, to join him in his expedition

against Syria. It appears, on the same authority, that when the temple was spoiled of the sacred vessels, the ark was reserved for the prophet, with the tables of the law, which had been deposited in it. Alex. Polyhist. et Eupol. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ix. c. 39. p. 454. Conf. Mechilt. f. 20. 1. Abarban. in Hagg. i. 8. al. ap. Wetst. N. T. n. in Matt. xvi. 15. The prediction, delivered by the prophet, in the very year when this expedition was undertaken, was of itself sufficient to attract the notice of the Chaldean monarch: who was not only designated in it, "the servant of the Lord," but was promised unqualified success in his Syrian expedition; "Behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and will utterly destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and perpetual desolations." Jer. xxv. 9.

These observations will obtain greater credit to the supposition, that Daniel acquired no less influence with Cyrus, than Jeremiah with Nebuchadnezzar, in directing the attention of the former sovereign to the prophecies of Isaiah, in which he was no less expressly mentioned. It is justly observed, by Des-Vignolles on this subject;—"Il n'est pas difficile de concevoir, que les Juifs epars en divers lieux des Etats du Roi de Babylone, tâchérent de faire savoir à Cyrus, ce que leurs Prophètes avoient écrit contre Babylone, que ce prince venoit attaquer. Pour exécuter cette commission, personne n'étoit plus propre, que Daniel. En qualité de Prophète, il entendoit sans doute mieux qu'aucun Juif, les prophéties d'Esaïe, et de Jérémie, et pouvoit en donner la connoissance à Cyrus, avec moins de peine. Lui faire lire par éxemple, l'endroit où Esaïe parle ainsi: 'Dieu dit de Cyrus, c'est mon Pasteur: il accomplira toute ma volonté. Il dira à Jérusalem, vous serez rebâtie: et au temple, vous serez fondé.' Les emplois, qu'il avoit éxercez, dans le païs depuis tant d'années, lui donnoient un accès entièrement libre auprès de Cyrus. Dès le tems de Nabuchodnosor, il avoit 'été établi Gouverneur de la Province de Babylone:' et sans doute il avoit été maintenu dans les grands emplois, par les autres Rois de Baby-

lone; puisque sous Belsatzar, il fût un des 'trois Gouverneurs' Généraux de ses Etats. On a lieu de croire, 'qu'il avoit eû quelque emploi, dans la Susiane;' et sans doute comme Gouverneur: puisque l'an 3e 'de Belchatzar, il étoit dans le Château de Suse, auprès du fleuve Ulai, ou Euléus,' qui est le même, que le Choaspe. Or nous avons vû, que Cyrus, venant attaquer Babylone, prit de l'eau du fleuve Choaspe pour sa provision. Il faut bien d'ailleurs, que Cyrus vint de ce côté-là: puisque il fût arrêté par le Gynde, et qu'il y passa tout l'été, pour le mettre à sec. Ainsi tout concourt à nous faire croire, que Daniel fit voir à Cyrus la prophétie d'Esaïe, qui le regardoit." Chron. liv. v. ch. 15. tom. ii. p. 587. comp. p. 590. a. 591. b. 593. b.

P. 139. l. 22. According to the tripartite division noticed in the text, the prophecies of Daniel may be distributed; the first relating to the four pagan monarchies, generally known as the prophetical; the second to the rise and establishment of the fifth monarchy, in which the sovereignty of the earth would be vested in the followers of the Messiah; the third, to the growth of a profane and tyrannical usurpation, which, while it was essentially opposed to Christ, would aspire after a supremacy in his kingdom. The circumstances, under which the authority, thus variously asserted, would increase or wane, were not only foretold, but the date of every important change or revolution precisely determined.

When we turn to the written annals of our race, for a test of the accuracy with which its destinies were thus predicted; a very slight knowledge of Universal History enables us to pronounce on the extraordinary comprehensiveness and fidelity of this distribution. During the earliest ages of the world, the supreme sway was inherited in succession by "four monarchies," against whose authority no rival nation could maintain its independence. And since the last has disappeared, the prospect of a dominant power arising, which will attain to universal empire, is rendered nearly impossible, by the advancement of the states of Europe in arts and civilization;—the diversity in their customs, language, and religion;—the contrary policy, by which they are opposed, in their interest;—and the positive leagues by which they are drawn into alliance. In the growth and extent of the French power,

within our own memory, and the extraordinary changes in the religious and political principles of mankind, which it has produced; a revolution seemed to be portended, in the frame of society, equal to any that are recorded in history. But the checks by which it was restrained, and the limits prescribed to its extent and duration, may be numbered among the proofs, that a special providence is still engaged in accomplishing the prophetic revelations. The expedition to Egypt served to prove, that the East with its dependencies was ground on which victories were not to be achieved; although the character of its inhabitants seemed to oppose but feeble resistance to legions accustomed only to conquer. And the mad attempt upon the north of Europe, led to the disaster and fall of its ambitious projector; and the reduction of the empire, whose gigantic resources he controlled, to its proper level among the western nations.

P. 140. l. 23. The sense, in which the prophecies, describing the succession of monarchies, which should attain a supremacy on the earth, have been understood, has not essentially varied, between the times of St. Jerome and Bp. Newton: vid. Hieron. Com. in Dan. cap. vii. tom. iv. p. 510. seq. Newt. on Proph. diss. xiv. vol. i. p. 267. seq.

The imagery employed by the prophet, in the revelation of future events, may indeed require a little further explanation. Of the figures, chosen to describe the pagan empires, it may be generally observed, that they are natural, pregnant, and significant, and are thus adapted to the readers of all times and places. Under the image of savage and rapacious animals, the power which is acquired and exercised by the strong over the weak, through brute force, is graphically depicted. Such images were, however, peculiarly adapted to the genius of the people to whom the ideas which they clothe, were immediately directed. Among the existing remains of their architectural skill, which are of an antiquity reaching to the times of Daniel, we discover animals of the grotesque character, with which the imagination of the prophet seems to have been familiar, when he received the vision. In the ruins of Persepolis, which was founded while the prophet was alive, figures exist to the present day, that exhibit the fanciful and monstrous combinations, embodied in his des-

criptions. Whatever difficulties they may have caused to the antiquary; they obviously possess the form and significance of hieroglyphics. While they thus serve to illustrate the prediction; they tend to confirm its authenticity by giving proofs of its antiquity, as coinciding with the spirit of the times in which it was written. The most grotesque and extravagant of the forms, which the prophet has depicted, by combining the parts of different animals, find their counterpart on those monuments. To select an example, in which the licence of fancy seems to be carried to its utmost limits; the picture, which he draws, in the very *first*, of " a lion that had eagles' wings, that was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon its feet like a man," Dan. vii. 4, might be supposed, without any stretch of imagination, to be copied from figures, which remain for the inspection of the traveller and antiquary. See Heeren, Hist. Res. vol. i. p. 173. seq. vol. ii. p. 410. seq.

As a further argument which may be advanced in their favor, their fitness for a mode of revelation, which superinduced a typical and secondary sense, upon the primary and literal, may be distinguished. The symbols which they employ naturally suggest the application of the subject, in the recondite sense, without offering any violence to the apparent. And when we take into account the repulsive nature of the objects described, and the danger, with which a more open mode of displaying them might be attended; not only the expediency, but the necessity, that recourse should be had to a figurative and covert method of handling will be readily acknowledged. We need only inspect the images under which the ancient monarchies are shadowed, to be convinced of the felicity with which they are characterised; while the odium or invidiousness, of exhibiting them in their natural deformity, is skilfully avoided. The animals, under whose likeness, their ferocity, cruelty and rapacity are portrayed, were no less distinguished for an indomitable strength and courage, which have been ever admired as virtues, among barbarous nations. While the qualities, on which the resemblance was founded, were left doubtful or unapplied; little apprehension could be felt for the consequences, under the most absolute and tyrannical government.

P. 142. l. 16. How formidable the Parthian arms were regarded by the Romans, who looked upon those barbarians as rivals for the supremacy of the East, appears from the concession of their historians; Τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐχώρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε ἀντιπολέμεσαι, καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυροὶ τὰ πολεμια, μεῖζον δ' ὅμως ὄνομα (καίτοι μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὶ παρῤῥημένοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἃ προέμενοι) ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδέπω δεδούλωνται. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁσάκις ἂν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέρουσι. Dio. Hist. lib. xl. p. 141. e.

These extraordinary concessions to the military claims of a rival nation, were founded on the bitter experience of the justice of their pretensions. From the defeat of Crassus, and the destruction of his army by Orodes, to the successes of Pacorus, under whom the territory lying between the Euphrates and Ionia was subjugated to the Parthian arms; the triumphs achieved by the barbarian cavalry were subjects of severe regret and mortification to the Romans. The terror inspired by their arms, may be gathered from the feeble resistance opposed to their advances; when the Asiatic Provinces submitted to their dominion. Plut. vit. Anton. Flor. Hist. lib. iv. c. 9. Of the power which they acquired by these successes, an idea may be formed, from the part which they acted at Jerusalem, when they deposed Hyrcanus, raised Antigonus to the throne, and compelled Herod to fly for succour to the Romans: vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. diss. ii. c. 6. p. 123. d. 128. b. 129. c. Thes. Grævi. In the limits set to their ambition, both in time and place, we may almost discern the immediate interference of providence. The decline of their power may be dated from their attempts upon the Holy City: the application of Herod for assistance to the Romans, having brought that force into operation against them, which soon expelled them, from the provinces lying to the west of the Euphrates. The fatal boundary which was here set was not to be passed with impunity. Nor is it less remarkable, that the last signal defeat, which they sustained from Ventidius; and which strewed with their bodies the plains between the Orontes and Euphrates, occurred upon the *very day*, on which they had repressed the advances of Crassus, but fourteen years before, and

destroyed his army, when transgressing the limits assigned to its operations. Dio. lib. xlix. p. 462. d. conf. Noris. uti supr. c. 6. p. 131. b. al. 143.

P. 144. l. 31. See n. on p. 174. l. 21.

P. 147. l. 7. The force of this extraordinary passage, as collected from the Jewish and Christian writers, is so justly expressed by Grier; that, beyond one or two extracts from his commentary, it is unnecessary to add any observation on the subject. "Acquiescimus nos in Messia ipso, quem hîc intendi, vi veritatis adacti profitentur etiam Judæi ipsi, v. g. Jacchiades, allegans Jerem. xxiii. 6. ubi vocatur יחוה צדקינו item R. Josua apud Aben Esram, R. Salomon, R. Saadia, &c. Inter Christianos consensio est unanimis hâc ipsâ de personâ. Vocatur autem Filius hominis, utpote homo verus; æque ut Adam ipse, patre tamen naturali carens nihilominus, à Syro vocatur בר נשא 'filius hominis,' Rom. v. 12. 15. 19, item ut nomen hoc aliàs tribuitur Ezechieli sæpiùs, c. ii. i. seq. et Danieli semel, Dan viii. 17, idque (ex sententiâ Maldonati ad Ezech. ii.) vel ideò, ut suæ fragilitatis humanæ subindè admonerentur, ne ob commercia cum Angelis suæ obliviscerentur originis; vel tantùm distinctionis causâ, ut inter hominem ab Ezechiele visum, et inter Prophetam ipsum esset discrimen, &c. Præsens autem Filius hominis, vel Messias ideò hoc nactus est nomen, præsertim in N. T. ne pro Angelo vel phantasmate quodam, vel pro nudo Deo speciem saltim hominis, (quomodo Sp. S. Columbæ Matth. iii.) gerente, non verò reipsa facto homine, haberetur.... Nil impedit, quo minùs in ordinariâ communique persistamus significatione, siquidem tunc Messias à Daniele visus fuit non homo verus vel jamjam incarnatus, sed tanquam homo, ita ut inter tempus V. et N. Testamenti debitum ramaneret discrimen: quâ de re etiam Justinus Martyr in Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234. et Irenæ. l. iv. advers. hæres. c. 37. Vide sis D. Crameri Schol. ii. Prophet. p. 410. &c. Illuc umbra quasi videbatur à Propheta, in N. autem Test. visus fuit filius Dei in carne propriâ. Gal. iv. 4. ita tamen ut diceretur ὅμοιος υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, Apoc. i. 13, ob veram cum reliquis filiis hominum conformitatem.... Si interroges de tempore adventus, videri equidem posset, huncce filium hominis post interfectam demum bestiam quartam, sublatumque omne dominium munda-

num, tantoperè emersisse, vi versus antecedentis.... Non nemo dicit, Monarchiam Christi sub imperio Romano cæpisse ad ἀκμὴν autem preventuram demum die ultimo post deletas Monarchias omnes: id quod suo loco relinquimus tanquam non adeò malè conveniens cum illo Pauli. 1 Cor. xv. 25. seq. Non malè aliqui annotârunt, Christum adscendendo introivisse in gloriam more hæreditantium, et jus in possessione accipientium, quod sit ingrediendo et sedendo. Imò si ortum reliquorum regnorum è mari, et hujus regni in nubibus coram Deò collati conferamus invicem, adhuc confirmatur magis superior sententia, non de adventu ad judicium ultimo, sed de Christi in regnum ingressu glorioso hæc dicta esse." Prælus. Acad. in Dan. vii. 13. p. 550. seq.

P. 148. l. 25. See Newt. on Proph. diss. xiv. p. 294.

P. 149. l. 8. See Newt. ibid. p. 279. comp. Whist. VI. diss. p. 290. 297.

P. 150. l. 3. The manner, in which the computation of years, under the designation of days, originated, from the nature of the sabbatical cycle, has been already explained; supr. n. to p. 62. l. 5. The supernumerary *day*, above the 52 weeks which compose the annual revolution, it was there shown, was taken, as an anniversary or newyear's day, to distinguish each *year* of that cycle, in the order of its succession.

A period of years, thus determined, is defined by the prophet, under the phrase, "a time, times and a half," or the "dividing of a time." Dan. xii. 7. vii. 25. That by the term, thus used, years of some kind must be meant, is admitted by commentators, ancient as well as modern; and may be exemplified from the diction of the prophet on other occasions. Thus St. Jerome observes on the phrase; "*Tempus*, *annum* significat: *Tempora* juxta Hebraici sermonis proprietatem, qui et ipsi dualem numerum habent, *duos annos* præfigurant. *Dimidium* autem temporis, *sex menses*, quibus sancti potestati Antichristi permittendi sunt." Com. in Dan. vii. tom. iv. p. 512. b. As Grier likewise, speaking of the reign of Antichrist; "Duratio verò determinatur mentione 'temporis, temporum, dimidii temporis:' ubi per עדן *tempus* non immeritò intelligitur *Annus*, juxta ductum c. iv. 13. 20. 22. 29. (16. 23. 25. 32.) et c. xi. 13. per 'tempora,' *biennium*, per

dimidium temporis, *anni dimidium*, juxta c. xii. 7. et Apoc. xii. 14. quorsum etiam referri possunt menses 42. Apoc. xiii. 5. qui et ipsi conficiunt annos tres cum dimidio." Prolus ut. supr. p. 579. cf. p. 987. 997. From the passages here cited, it is apparent, that the term is employed in the same sense by Daniel; where he fixes the time, for which Nebuchadnezzar would be driven from the haunts and converse of men. Were there any doubt respecting the number of revolutions, which it was Daniel's intention to include in the period; his meaning would be placed out of dispute, by the exposition of St. John. The phrase which the prophet uses, is understood by the evangelist, as equivalent to "forty two months," Rev. xii. 14. xi. 2, and consequently reduced to "two hundred and threescore days:" ibid. xi. 3. xii. 6. So many days, precisely, are found in 42 months of 30 days each, or in $3\frac{1}{2}$ years; when computed at the rate of the astronomical year, consisting of 12 such months, or 360 days. Such a measure of time was used as a convenient mean, between the solar revolution of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and the lunar of $354\frac{1}{2}$. See Trans. of R. S. Lit. vol. iii. pt. 1. p. 6. As the jubilee was founded on an equation of those revolutions; it is most probable, that, by such a measure of time, they were adjusted in it: see n. on p. 31. l. 2.

With respect to the full force of the term, employed by the prophet; it would consequently seem to designate the form of *artificial* year which was employed for the purpose of such an equation; as contrasted with the *natural* year, whether measured by the lunar conjunctions, or the solar conversions. To this conclusion we are necessarily led, by the consideration of its length; as it clearly appears, from the preceding observations, to have consisted of 360 days: three "times and a half," of that length, amounting precisely to 1260 days, as determined by the prophet, and explained by the evangelist. The difference between this form of artificial year, and the natural with which it has been contrasted, seems recognised in the account of the creation; where "signs and *times*" are distinguished from "days and *years*." Gen. i. 14. comp. Bampt. Lect. p. 406. The phrases, thus opposed, acquire a precision from the opposition, of which they are not susceptible under a separate view of them: the

equable year being designated under the antecedent term, the equated under the subsequent. For of a form of year of the latter kind, there can be no reason to doubt the patriarchs possessed a knowledge: their acquaintance with that of the former kind, the preceding observations place beyond controversion.

These considerations must be more than sufficient to destroy the grounds of their confidence, who maintain, that under the phrase used by the prophet, the term of three *natural* years and a half is implied; instead of a purely *artificial* period, indicating a different, and of consequence a more extended term. It is indeed inexplicable, had the former been his object, that he should have discarded the ordinary intelligible phrase; to adopt a form of expression, which bears, internally stamped on it, the marks of a technical precision; the key to which presents itself in the ordinary methods of intercalation, as recently intimated. It is, however, indisputable, that two forms of determining a series of years were in use in the times of the prophet; in one of which they were designated as a collection of days, comprised in the annual revolution; as in the other, they were distinguished by a particular day, which determined their character, in the sabbatical succession. Instances of both modes of reckoning were formerly adduced, and exemplified from the inspired writings; and, among them, more expressly from Daniel. That his predecessors and contemporaries were familiar with them appears on the authority of Amos, compared with that of Moses; Amos, iv. 4. Deut. xiv. 28. comp. Lev. xix. 23. 24. xxv. 20—22. The least attentive consideration of these passages in the original, with the observations formerly made on the succession of the sabbatical years, which they exemplify and illustrate, will lead to the conviction, that the phrase *three days*, with the meaning of three *anniversary* or *newyears' days*, was employed, when the *three years*, which succeeded them in the annual revolution, were intended. It is, however, obvious from the length of the prophetical period defined by Daniel, that it cannot mean three natural years and a half; and consequently, that we are reduced to the alternative of understanding it as an artificial form of reckoning, of the kind which has been just explained. We must, therefore, take the term which defines it as analogous to that used in the celebrated pro-

phecy of "the seventy *weeks*;" and which, as synonymous with *septenaries*, is founded on the assumption, that a *year* is expressed by a *day*, and thus in effect decides all that I am concerned in establishing.

P. 151. l. 15. See n. on p. 62. l. 5. p. 150. l. 3.

P. 152. l. 8. See Treat. on Millen. p. 6. Newt. on Proph. vol. ii. p. 373. seq. comp. n. on p. 307. l. 12.

P. 153. l. 12. For the remarkable events, by which the extremes of this period were distinguished, see the notes on p. 155. l. 23. p. 288. l. 21. Its general character may be taken from the account which a learned antiquary has given of the historical incidents, by which the intermediate term was marked. Among the most prominent of these, he selects the elevation of the Pope into a temporal sovereign, by the usurpation of the Exarchate, and the rupture which ensued between him and the Emperor Leo, in consequence of the iconoclast controversy. " Potrebbe solamente dirsi che la presa e ricupera di Ravenna succedette nell' anno 725. prima che spuntasse l'Eresia degl' Iconoclasti, come ha creduto il Sigonio con altri; et pare che si ricavi dallo stesso Anastasio: nel qual tempo passava buona armonia fra il Papa e l'Imperadore e i suoi ministri. Ma ciò non sussiste. Si sa da Anastasio medesimo, che l'Esarcho Paolo fu mandato in Italia con ordine di levar dal mondo Papa Gregorio II. e fece quanto potè per eseguirlo. Certo è altresí, che non già nell' anno 725. ma molto più tardi, e certo dappoichè Leone Augusto si dichiarò nemico delle sacre immagini, e comminciò la persecuzione, per cagion d'esse Ravenna fu presa. Ne abbiamo l'autentica testimonianza dello stesso Gregorio II. che dopo aver narrato nella prima lettera a Leone Isauro l'affare della statua del Salvatore, per cui esso Augusto avea fatto uccidere alcune donne, aggiugne che divulgata la fama di queste sue crudeli puerilità, i popoli più lontani aveano calpestate le immagini del medesimo Augusto, e che ' I Longobardi e i Sarmati e altri Popoli Settentrionali aveano fatto delle scorrerie per infelice decapoli' (cioè per le dieci città sottoposte a Ravenna) ed occupata la stessa Metropoli Ravenna, con iscacciarne i Magistrati Cesarei, e porvi al governo i lor proprj, ed ora minacciano d'invadere gli altri luoghi imperiali vicini, e Roma stessa, giacchè esso imperadore non ha

forza per difenderli. E questo tutto avvenuto per l'imprudenza e stoltezza dello stesso Augusto." Murator. Annal. d'Ital. tom. iv. p. 221. The spirit, in which these observations are made, renders it almost unnecessary to remark on the testimony borne by the author; that it cannot be excepted against, as proceeding from an enemy of the Papacy.

P. 154. l. 1. See n. on p. 288. l. 21.

P. 155. l. 2. See n. on p. 59. l. 5.

Ibid. l. 23. The term of 30 years, preceding the manifestation of Antichrist, which is distinguished by the prophet as a period of trial, is computed from the second year of P. John VII, who succeeded to the Pontificate A. D. 705. The character, by which it was marked, appears to have been determined, by that of his reign, from the very time of its commencement. The following extract in which it is described is from the hand of the earliest of the Papal biographers. " Hic fecit oratorium sanctæ Dei genitricis intra Ecclesiam beati Petri Apostoli, cujus parietes musivo depinxit. Illic auri et argenti quantitatem multam expendit, et venerabilium Patrum dextra lævaque vultus erexit . . . *Fecit vero imagines per diversas ecclesias*, quas quicunque nôsse desiderat, in eis ejus vultum depictum reperiet. Basilicam item Sanctæ Dei genitricis, quæ antiqua vocatur, picturâ decoravit, illicque ambonem noviter fecit, &c. Hujus temporibus Aripertus Rex Longobardorum *donationem Patrimonii Alpium Cottiarum*, quæ longa per tempora a jure Ecclesiæ privata fuerat ac ab eâdem gente detinebatur, in literis aureis exaratam, *jure proprio beati Apostolorum Principis Petri reformavit.*" Anastas. Vit. Pontif. Rom. p. 63. int. Script. Byzant. The character which this period continued to maintain, in A. D. 726, may be gathered from the n. on p. 153. l. 12, that by which it was distinguished, at the time of its close, B. C. 736. may be collected from the n. on p. 288. l. 21.

P. 157. l. 17. Comp. n. on p. 155. l. 2. p. 281. l. 18.

P. 158. l. 20. The leading events, on which the prophecies of Daniel turn, have struck both Christians and Jews, as among the most prominent in the tenor of history, as well civil as ecclesiastical. With respect to the closing scene of the great drama, which would be performed upon earth, as revealed by the pro-

phet, it is observed by St. Jerome referring to Dan. xi. 36. " Ab hoc loco, Judæi *dici de antichristo* putant, ' quòd post Juliani parvum auxilium surrecturus sit rex, qui faciat juxta volùntatem suam, et elevetur contra omne quod dicitur Deus, et adversum Deum deorum loquatur magnifica: ita ut sedeat in templo Dei, et seipsum faciat Deum, et dirigatur voluntas ejus donec compleatur ira Dei, quia in ipso erit consummatio.' Quod quidem *et nos de antichristo intelligimus.* Porphyrius autem, et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur: quòd erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Hierosolymis simulacrum suum poni jusserit." Com. in Dan. xi. tom. iv. p. 524. d. In the same conclusion, those commentators acquiesce, who understand the last of Daniel's predictions, as meant of the persecutions sustained by the Jewish nation; and identify the type of Antichrist in the author of the persecutions. To this purpose St. Jerome further observes; " De antichristo nullus ambigit, quin pugnaturus sit adversus testamentum sanctum, et primum contra regem Ægypti dimicans, Romanorum pro ejus auxilio terreatur. Hæc autem sub Antiocho Epiphane *in imagine præcesserunt*, ut rex sceleratissimus, qui persecutus est populum Dei, *præfiguret antichristum*, qui Christi populum persecuturus est. Unde multi nostrorum putant ob sævitiæ, et turpitudinis magnitudinem, Domitianum Neronem antichristum fore." Id. ibid. p. 524. b. Comp. Prid. Connex. vol. iii. p. 288. seq. Newt. on Proph. vol. i. p. 405. seq.

## LECTURE VII.

P. 162. l. 27. See n. on p. 139. l. 5.

P. 163. l. 17. See n. on p. 164. l. 25.

P. 164. l. 25. The date of the prophecy of " the seventy weeks," as fixed in the first year of Darius Medus, who succeeded to the Babylonian kingdom on the fall of its capital, must be referred to the year B. C. 538: see n. to p. 94. l. 23. comp. n.

on p. 95. l. 16. Between that event, and the liberation of the Jews, on the accession of Cyrus to the same throne, two years had elapsed: see n. on p. 96. l. 9. With the decree issued at this time, the "seventy years" captivity, which had been foretold by Jeremiah, then terminated, B. C. 536: see n. on p. 98. l. 6. As Daniel was brought, among the first of the captives, to Babylon; sixty-eight of the "seventy years" must have consequently elapsed when his prophecy was delivered.

It is, however, obvious, that he could not have been less than twelve years old, when he went into captivity; as he was chosen to a place in the court, in consequence of endowments which were not attainable at an earlier age. It is indeed scarcely probable, that, at so inexperienced a time of life, he could have deserved a place among "the children," who were candidates for the royal favor; who are described as "skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science." Dan. i. 4. As he is numbered, however, among those who were still termed ילדים *boys;* it seems hardly warrantable to suppose that he had exceeded the age I have assigned him. If twelve years be consequently added to the sixty-eight, which he had spent in captivity; he could not have been less than *eighty*, when he received this extraordinary revelation.

Between this time, as already referred to the year B. C. 538, and the return of the Jews, under Ezra, B. C. 457, when the religion and polity of the nation were restored, an equal number of years had elapsed. In living to the latter time, as he must have been about a hundred and sixty years old; it cannot be supposed, that he then returned to his native land; and previously to that time, he could have had no inducement to seek it. We must, therefore, conclude, that he closed his days in the country where he had been promoted to the highest authority and dignity.

I have elsewhere offered some remarks on the influence, which it is reasonable to infer, from his rank at the Babylonian court, he must have acquired with Cyrus: a supposition, which is not a little strengthened, by the consideration of the speedy restoration of his countrymen, on the accession of that monarch to the empire of the East: see n. on p. 139. l. 5.

P. 165. l. 11. The observations of Des-Vignolles, on the

division of the prophecies of Jeremiah into two books, are singularly just and happy: although he seems to have mistaken the spirit in which they were consulted by Daniel. " Alors, sans doute, Daniel eut sujet de craindre, que dans la Prophétie de Jérémie, il n'y eût quelque circonstance, que ' Dieu ne lui avoit pas révélée.' Pour s'en mieux éclaircir, il se mit à étudier, tout de nouveau, la prophétie de Jérémie: et voici comme Daniel lui-même s'explique. ' L'an 1^r^. du régne de Darius, je compris, par les Livres du Prophète Jérémie, que le nombre des années, dont l'Eternel lui avoit parlé, pour finir les désolations de Jérusalem, étoit de 70 ans.' Les prophéties de Jérémie contiennent 52 Chapitres, dont les 25 premiers sont rangez de même, dans le texte Hébreu, et dans la version Gréque: mais dans cette version, les 27 Chapitres suivans sont disposez d'une autre manière, que dans l'Hébreu. Ne seroient-ce point deux Livres distincts, du même prophète, que Daniel désigne, par le nom de Livres, au pluriel? Joseph attribuë à Ezéchiel, deux Livres, dont nous ne faisons qu'un aujourd'hui: et le même Historien, cite tantôt le Livre tantôt les Livres de Daniel. C'est une pensée de M. Whiston, que ne me paroît pas méprisable." Chron. tom. ii. p. 591.

It is not probable, however, as this learned chronologist supposed, that Daniel then applied himself to the study of the prophecy of " the seventy years;" under any such apprehension; that God had not revealed to Jeremiah his entire counsel. It is plain, on the contrary, from the subject of his prayer and the communication with which it was answered; that his attention, instead of being confined to the temporal restoration, which took place under Zerubbabel or Ezra, was directed to the great restitution, which was promised under the expected Messiah. As apprised, without doubt, of a distinction which was formerly explained, (n. on p. 11. l. 17.) he could not but know, that there was a limit set, within which this consummation would be effected: although it might be hastened through the divine favor, or retarded through the impenitence and unbelief of his countrymen. To this effect his confession is made;—" yet made we not our prayer before the Lord our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth. Therefore hath the Lord watched upon the evil,

and brought it upon us: for the Lord our God is righteous in all his works which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice." Dan. ix. 13. 14. To the same effect, he offers up his supplication; the main object of which is avowed in the terms in which it closes; "O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; *defer not*, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name." Ibid. 19. And in conformity to the scope and tenor of these supplications;—instead of being apprised, when the crisis should arrive to fulfil "the word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah; to accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem," ibid. 2;—by the revelation in which he is answered, he is informed of a time, that should "bring in everlasting righteousness, and seal up the vision, and anoint the most Holy." Ibid. 24. He then learned, that the term, in the course of which it was intended the divine purposes should be accomplished, instead of *closing* with the seventy years' captivity, on the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem, should on the contrary, commence from that event, and extending to a period of seven times that length, should end in the foundation of the Messiah's Kingdom.

These were communications, which from their interest and importance, were not unworthy the views and expectations of the favored prophet; to whom the extent and glory of the Messiah's Dominion and Kingdom had been previously revealed;—"An everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed." To him who looked forward to the realisation of those splendid prospects, the disturbed and transitory state of events of which Jerusalem was destined to be the scene, could impart but a languid and secondary interest. The information imparted upon this subject is merely episodic, and rendered subsidiary to the higher purposes of the revelation. In the intimation which it graciously conveyed, that "the street should be built again and the wall;" the painful circumstance was included, that it should be "in troublous times;" from whence his consolation was to be derived, that he should bear no part in events, which were but transient and preparatory to a final and glorious consummation.

As Daniel flourished under the dominion of two empires, it will

not be denied, that a more suitable time, for delivering this revelation could hardly be chosen, than *the exact crisis*, when the Persian dynasty, which emancipated the Jews, superseded the Assyrian, which had led them into captivity: more particularly as it concurred with the close of "the seventy years," as fixed by Jeremiah for their liberation. With these considerations the prophet was so fully impressed, that they formed the grounds of the prayer which he offered upon the occasion. But to discover the connexion between his supplications and the revelation by which they were answered, the crisis when they were uttered should be taken into account; which he is particular in declaring was "at the time of the evening sacrifice," the angel who descended at his prayer declaring, that "at the beginning of the supplication, the word came forth," of which he was deputed to be the bearer. It was with equal consistency, that the prophet substituted the spiritual for the ceremonial offering, and chose the moment for presenting it; as he was without doubt assured, that his "*prayer* was set before God as *incense*, and the lifting up of his hands as the *evening sacrifice*." Ps. cxli. 2. The time for offering this sacrifice was the ninth hour, when that one oblation was made, from the savor and fragrance of which all offerings, whether of the hands or lips, derive their acceptance. Eph. v. 2. Rev. viii. 3. The connexion is thus readily discerned, between the supplication of the prophet, and the revelation in which it was answered. He had confessed that "all Israel had transgressed the law of God, by departing, that they might not obey his voice and had sinned against him." Dan. ix. 11. He had prayed, that God would "hear the prayer and supplication of his servant, and cause his face to shine upon the sanctuary;" that he would "hear, and forgive, and *defer not*, for his own sake." Ib. 17. 19. In the reply to his supplications, he is accordingly apprised of the time that was decided, or "*cut short*, to finish the transgression, to make an end of sins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness." Ibid. 24.

P. 167. l. 3. See n. on p. 113. l. 2.

P. 167. l. 26. On the proper meaning of the phrase לחשיב ולבנות ירושלם Dan. ix. 25: which is imperfectly rendered in our version; the just comprehension of the prophecy depends, in a

great measure. Dean Prideaux, incautiously relying on the accuracy of the received translation, has recourse to a figurative sense, to justify his interpretation. "For the words in the text," he declares, "*to restore and build Jerusalem* are not to be understood literally, but figuratively for the restoring of the state of the Jews, as well the political as the ecclesiastical and the resettling of both according to the word of Moses: and what is more usual in prophecies, than to be given out in figurative expressions? And what is more common in Scripture, than by Jerusalem to mean the whole political and ecclesiastical state of that people?" Con. vol. ii. p. 382. Grier, though he denies the necessity of filling up the ellipses from the context, asserts the proper force of the verb, on which the meaning of the passage turns, and exemplifies it from various passages of Scripture: "Verbum להשיב '*ad reducendum*,' (à radice שוב redire, reverti) LXX. reddidere τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι 'ad respondendum,' haut dubiè respectu habito ad phrasin, quâ reducere vel reponere verbum, est respondere, sicut ostensum fuit, Prov. xiix. 13. משיב דבר referens vel reponens verbum antequam audiat, &c. Hoc tamen loco pro subjectâ materiâ haut dubiè exprimit *reversionem* civium Hierosolymitanorum (imò et conterraneorum cæterorum,) in patriam, quomodo hocce השיב legitur de Abrahamo *reducente* Lothum et concaptivos cæteros è manu hostium, Gen. xiv. 16, de Davide, *reducente* abactas ab Amalekitis fœminas, 1 Sam. xxx. 19, de rege Babel, captivos restituente patriæ suæ, Jer. xlii. 12," &c. Prolus. in loc. p. 740. c.

In the variety of senses exhibited by the ancient and modern versions, the true meaning is variously acknowledged: their occasional deviation from the literal force tending to establish it, by the distortion which, in deserting it, they impart to the original. This is particularly obvious in the Septuagint, which renders it in the sense noticed by Grier. ἀπὸ ἐξόδου λόγου τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι Ἰερουσαλήμ, 'ab exitu sermonis, ut *respondeatur* et ædificetur Hierusalem.' In the Latin Vulgate the verb is suppressed, but its place apparently supplied by an adverb: "ab exitu sermonis ut *iterum* ædificetur Jerusalem." In which mode of evading the difficulty it is in effect followed by the Syriac: ܡܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܬܬܒ ܘܢܒܢܐ ܠܝܪܘܫܠܡ 'ab egressu

verbi usque ad ædificationem Jerosolymæ.' As the Arabic is a servile copy of the Greek; its testimony is of no use but to confirm the readings of that translation.

Of the modern versions, the Spanish of the Jews gives the literal force of the phrase, without any attempt to explain it by a paraphrase; "de salida de la palabra *hazer tornar* y para fraguar Yerusalaim." The defect of this version is supplied in that of De Valera; "desde la salida de la palabra para *hazer bolver* et pueblo, y edificar à Jerusalem." In this just view of the passage the Bishop's Bible concurs; in which it is rendered; "from the going forthe of the commandement to bring againe the [people] and to build Hierusalem."

The other modern versions follow the Latin Vulgate, in avoiding the difficulty of the text, rather than seeking to remove it. Such is the case, of the Italian of Diodoti; "da che sara uscita la parola che Gerusalemme sià riedificata." As also of the German of Luther; "von der Zeit an so ausgebet der Befehl dass Jerusalem soll wiederum gebauet werden." The French with a little more skill, preserves the original term; but with a slight deflection from the true meaning: "depuis que la parole sera sortie, pour *s'en retourner*, et pour rebâtir Jerusalem."

P. 169. l. 6. Vid. Grier. Prolus. p. 742. d. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. v. c. 8. vol. ii. p. 395. Prid. Con. vol. ii. p. 387.

P. 170. l. 5. The *seventh* year of Artaxerxes is now generally admitted to be the proper epoch, from whence "the seventy weeks" should be computed. This opinion was not only espoused by Basil, Cedrenus, Bullinger, Bucholcer, Bunting, Funccius, Lansberg, Cluvers, and both the Capells; but by Simson, Baily, Whiston, Prideaux, Ferguson, Clarke, Locke, Sir I. Newton, &c.

P. 172. l. 8. See n. on p. 97. l. 28.

Ibid. l. 22. In the deduction of the epoch of "the seventy weeks" from the "*twentieth* of Artaxerxes," Africanus and Chrysostome are followed not only by Langius, Pererius, Torniellus, Salianus, but by Petavius, Ussher, Mede, Montacute, &c. The objections to this mode of considering the prophecy may be seen, in the strictures passed by Prideaux, upon the particular views taken of it by Petavius and Ussher: see Connex. uti supr. vol. ii. p. 409. seq.

The hypothesis of Africanus, who led the way in that view of the prophecy, from which the preceding chronologists have deviated very inconsiderably, is founded on two erroneous assumptions. As the epoch of the prediction depends upon the date of the particular decree, to which it is conceived to allude; that issued in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, is supposed to be identified by the context, in which it is declared, that "the street shall be built again and the wall even in troublous times:" vid. Euseb. Dem. Evan. lib. viii. p. 390. Hier. Com. in Dan. ix. tom. iv. p. 516. n. That this assumption is groundless has been sufficiently proved in the text. The inference by which it is followed up, that the seventy septenaries or 490 years, by which the prophet reckons, are nor solar but *lunar* years, may be shewn to be equally destitute of foundation: vid. Euseb. ibid. p. 390. c. Hier. ibid. p. 516. b. As the computation is made by septenaries, the only natural and reasonable inference is, that they were disposed according to the revolutions of the sabbatical cycle, which it admits of no dispute was equated to solar time. In seventy septenaries, there are ten jubilees; each of which possessed a determinate length, whether we suppose it to have been regulated by the solar or lunar revolutions; 49 years of the former, and 50½ of the latter, being necessary to complete a cycle. Under either view, a barrier appears to have been opposed to the reduction of the prophetical period, from the solar to the lunar measure; the latter being intercalated to the length of the former.

The hypothesis of Africanus, which is founded upon the contrary supposition, may be subverted on his own showing. The difference between 490 years of solar and lunar time, according to his concession, amounts to 15 years: Euseb. ibid. p. 390. d. Hier. ibid. p. 516. b. As in the period of one jubilee, the difference between solar and lunar time amounts to one year and a half; in that of ten, it necessarily amounts to fifteen. When the 490 years of the prophet are taken as unintercalated lunar time, and accordingly reduced to 475 of solar; this period proves too short, by at least 3 years, to fill up the interval between the 20th year of Artaxerxes and the time of the crucifixion. According to the date, J. P. 4249. B. C. 465, assigned to that monarch's

accession, by the Astronomical Canon, as it appears to have been understood by Africanus; his 20th year coincided with that of J. P. 4268. B. C. 446. Computed from this time, 475 years are found to end J. P. 4743. A. D. 30: the interval between them, as Africanus has justly determined, extending from Ol. LXXXIII. 4. to Ol. CCII. 2. Euseb. ib. p. 390. c. Hier. ib. p. 516. b. As the crucifixion, however, according to the most generally received opinion, took place in A. D. 33: or, as it may be demonstrated in A. D. 34: three years, at least, are wanting to bring down the close of the period of 490 unintercalated lunar years, computed from the preceding epoch, to the time of the great sacrifice of the cross, which "brought in everlasting righteousness." See n. on p. 177. l. 30.

P. 174. l. 23. The question, whether the epoch of "the seventy weeks" is to be deduced from the 7th or the 20th year of Artaxerxes, appears to be decided, by the character of the extremes, within which the term of 490 years composing that period is included; which decides for the former rather than the latter. Between the *restoration* of the temple service, on the return of Ezra, and its *abolition* on the offering of the sacrifice of Christ, the contrast is strikingly marked; and both events are of paramount importance in the different dispensations which were mediated by Moses and the Messiah. But between the latter of those events, and "the rebuilding of the street and the walls in troublous times," the connexion is not easily discovered. On the object with which this last circumstance was introduced into the prediction, a conjecture has been elsewhere offered; by which so much of the difficulty of the question which is before us appears to be satisfactorily settled: see n. on p. 165. l. 11.

Of what importance the reestablishment of the temple service was deemed, appears from the circumstantial accounts of the disposal of the sacred vessels, which were necessary to its due celebration. Particular mention is made of them, in the decrees issued for the restoration of the Jews to their national rights and privileges: Ezr. i. 4. 7. vii. 19. The prophets and historians are equally careful and minute in recounting the manner, in which they were withdrawn from the divine service, and again restored to it: see Dan. i. 2. v. 23. Jer. xxvii. 16. xxviii. 3. 6.

2 Kings, xxiv. 13. xxv. 14. 15. Ezr. i. 7—11. v. 14. 15. vii. 19. viii. 25. Nehem. xiii. 9. 1 Esdr. i. 45. iv. 44.

A distinction is observable between the different offerings which were made of them to the temple, by Cyrus and Artaxerxes; by which the question at issue appears to be in no small degree affected. They were necessarily held in different estimation by the Babylonians, as they were valuable and ornamental, or merely useful to the temple service. Those of the former kind, they accordingly spared and carried away; but those of the latter they broke up, for the metal of which they were composed; 2 Kings, xxiv. 13. xxv. 13—16. To avoid a contradiction in the accounts of the offerings made by the two princes, to the temple; we must conclude that the *ornamental* vessels, which were of gold and silver, and had been reposited in the temple of Belus, were restored by Cyrus: but that the *merely useful* vessels, which had been broken up for the metal, were replaced and presented by Artaxerxes. The distinction may be supported on the difference of the expression of the two decrees, in which they are mentioned. In that of Cyrus, they are merely termed "the vessels of the house of God," Ezr. i. 7. v. 14. vi. 5: in that of Artaxerxes they are described, as "the vessels, which were *given* for the *service* of the house of God." Ibid. vii. 19. Conformably to this distinction it is declared, of the one, that "Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods," ib. i. 7. comp. vi. 5; but recorded of the other, that Ezra "weighed the silver and gold, and the vessels, even the offering of the house of our God, which the king, and his counsellors, and his lords, and all Israel there present *had offered*." Ibid. viii. 25. Each monarch accommodated his offering to the occasion, on which he made it: Cyrus having testified his disposition to restore *the temple* which remained to be built; but Artaxerxes having evinced his disposition to restore the *service*, now that it was erected. If the epoch of "the seventy weeks" may be determined by the last event; it may be, therefore, looked upon as decided by the peculiar offering of the latter of those monarchs. Sacrifices had been indeed offered, before the foundation of the temple was laid, Esr. iii. 6; but the service

could not be celebrated before the donation of the sacred vessels: comp. Ibid. vii. 17. viii. 35. ix. 5.

P. 176. l. 11. From the limitation set to the term, שבעים "weeks," in the phrase שבעים ימים, "weeks *of days*," Dan. x. 2, the inference is legitimate, that the unrestricted term, in the phrase שבעים שבעים "seventy *weeks*," ib. ix. 24, is meant to convey the comprehensive sense of "weeks *of years*." In such a sense, it is unquestionable, the original word is used in the Hebrew, when employed without limitation or restriction: Gen. xxix. 27. The objection consequently appears to be insuperable to the acceptance of the term in the restricted sense of "weeks *of days*;" where the limitation, set by the latter term, is not positively annexed by the prophet. As it is, consequently, obvious, that weeks of the latter description cannot be meant; the alternative leaves us no choice, but compels us to conclude, that weeks of the former kind, or proper *septenaries*, must be exclusively intended.

As the inference thus drawn depends for its conclusiveness, on the certainty of the *alternative*, to which the question is reduced; it may be necessary to place it beyond ambiguity, particularly as it stands opposed to the authority of our received version. In rendering שבעים ימים "full weeks," which would better suit the phrase to which it is opposed, that version is particularly unhappy; it is accordingly deserted by the ancient and modern translations, with the exception of the French, upon which it appears to have had some influence. In the Greek Vulgate, it is accordingly rendered; *ἡμην πενθῶν τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας ἡμερῶν*. In the Latin Vulgate with an inversion in the sense: "lugebam trium hebdomadarum *diebus*." In the Syriac Vulgate, ܕܐܒܠܬ ܬܠܬ ܫܒܥܝ ܫܒܘܥܐ ܠܡܚܘܝ luctui me dedi tribus hebdomadis. In the Bishop's Bible, which is in some respects preferable to the received version, it is properly rendered; "I Daniel mourned for the space of three weeks *of dayes*." The Spanish version of the Jews is equally correct, "yo Daniel era atristànme tres semanas *de dias*:" and consequently preferable to the looser rendering of De Valera; "yo Daniel me contristé tres semanas de tiempo." In other modern versions, the native idiom is rather consulted than the foreign: the Italian of Diodati consequently reads "io Daniel

feci cordoglio *lo spazio* di tre settimane. The German of Luther; " war ich Daniel traurig drey Wochen *lang.*" The French alone corresponding with the English; " moi Daniel, je fus dans le deuil pendant trois semaines *entières.*"

P. 177. l. 12. The opinions of the Jews in the age of St. Jerome, and it may be presumed previously, may be seen in that learned Father's comment on Daniel, tom. iv. p. 518. Those of some of the later Rabbins may be gathered from Leidek. Rep. Hebr. vol. ii. p. 389. Grier. Prolus. p. 723. 997. The Christian writers, including those cited in n. on p. 170. l. 5. p. 172. l. 22, concur in the same view of the subject. Sir Isaac Newton justifies his opinion by the following observations: " Whether Daniel used the Chaldaic or Jewish year is not very material; the difference being but six hours in a year, and 4 months in 480 years. But I take his months to be Jewish: first because Daniel was a Jew, and the Jews even by the names of the Chaldean months understood the months of their own year; secondly, because this prophecy is grounded on Jeremiah's concerning the 70 years' captivity, and therefore must be understood of the same sort of years with the seventy; and those are Jewish, since the prophecy was given in Judea before the Captivity: and lastly, because Daniel reckons by *weeks of years* which is a way of reckoning peculiar to the Jewish years. For as their days ran by sevens, and the last day of every seven was a sabbath, and the last year of every seven was a sabbatical year, and seven such weeks of years make a jubilee." Obs. on Proph. of Dan. p. 138. Every doubt upon the subject is, however, removed, if the deduction of the Great Paschal Cycle, from the epoch of Ezra's return, be admitted to be well founded: see n. on p. 267. l. 11. The solar and lunar revolutions were equated, in it, to cycles equivalent to the bissextile or small canicular period, consisting of 4 years, each of which was $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

P. 177. l. 30. The foundation was laid by Eusebius, for the true computation of the " seventy weeks:" vid. Dem. Evan. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 391. a. Hier. in Dan. tom. iv. p. 516. His views which were matured by Funccius, were nearly perfected by Bucholcer; but awaited the last improvements from the hand of the immortal Newton.

As the period of the prophet is comprised by Bucholcer, between the year B.C. 457. and A.D. 34: according at least to appearances, it is justly determined: vid. Ind. Chron. ad an. A.C. 457. P.C. 34. Isagog. p. 70. The observation may be likewise extended to the distribution of "the last week of the seventy:" vid. Ind. ad an. P.C. 27—34. His computation is, however, liable to the objection, that he anticipates, by one year, the time of Artaxerxes' accession and of our Lord's crucifixion. His error, however, if such it be deemed, will be considered venial; as in the former point, he is apparently countenanced by the astronomical canon, and in the latter, by the general suffrage of modern chronologists, from the times of Roger Bacon to Abp. Ussher.

The great Newton is an illustrious exception; to whose peculiar views, the following observations may be taken as an introduction. "There were but two returns from the Captivity, Zerubbabel's and Ezra's; in Zerubbabel's they had only commission to build the temple, in Ezra's they first became a polity or city by a government of their own. Now the years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his seventh year fell in with the third year of the eightieth Olympiad; and the latter part thereof, when Ezra went up to Jerusalem, was in the year of the Julian Period 4257. Count the time from thence to the death of Christ and you will find it just 490 years. If you count in Judaic years, commencing in autumn, and date the reckoning from the first autumn after Ezra's coming to Jerusalem, when he put the king's decree in execution; the death of Christ will fall on the year of the Julian Period 4747. A.D. 34; and the weeks will be Judaic weeks ending with sabbatical years; and this I take to be the truth: but if you had rather place the death of Christ in the year before, as is commonly done, you may take the year of Ezra's journey into the reckoning." Obs. on Dan. p. i. ch. x. p. 131.

The doubt which is here left undetermined might be decided by the Astronomical Canon; did not the principle on which it is constituted leave the point in equal uncertainty. As it throws back the commencement of every reign to the beginning of the Egyptian year by which it is dated; a strict adherence to the

dates of it may be productive of considerable error. Thus the accession of Artaxerxes is not to be determined from it to a greater degree of accuracy, than that it occurred between Dec. 17th of J. P. 4249. and Dec. 17th of J. P. 4250: comp. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. ii. p. 349. 358. Newton saw the necessity of having recourse to a different process, to ascertain it more certainly. In stating, that he refers it to some time between the midsummer and autumn of J. P. 4250, it may be observed, that he is not to be confuted, by the authority of the Canon, as he confines himself strictly within the limits which it allows.

Two arguments are advanced, by this inimitable author, in support of his opinions; by which they seem to be unanswerably established. One of them he founds upon the news which was brought of Artaxerxes' death, to Ephesus, Ol. LXXXVIII. 4: the other, upon the basis of Cambyses' accession, as confirmed by the ancient eclipses. As thus established on scientific grounds, and applied to the question before us, the second merits transcription. "The same thing," he observes, "I gather thus: Cambyses began his reign in spring, An. J. P. 4185, and reigned eight years, including the five months of Smerdis; and then Darius Hystaspis began in spring, An. J. P. 4193, and reigned 36 years, by the unanimous consent of all chronologers. The reigns of these two kings are determined by three eclipses of the moon observed at Babylon and recorded by Ptolemy; so that it cannot be disputed....By these eclipses and the prophecies of Haggai and Zechary compared together, it is manifest that his years began after the 24th day of the 11th Jewish month, and before the 25th day of April, and by consequence about March. Xerxes therefore began in spring, An. J. P. 4229: for Darius died in the fifth year after the battle of Marathon, as Herodotus, lib. 7, and Plutarch mention, and that battle was in October, An. J. P. 4228, suppose in the spring following: for he spent his first five years and something more in preparations for his expedition against the Greeks, and this expedition was in the time of the Olympic games, Ol. lxxv. 1. Calliade Athenis Archonte, 28 years after the Regifuge, and consulship of Junius Brutus, A. U. C. 273. Fabio et Furio Coss. The passage of Xerxes's army over the Hellespont began in the end of the Olymp. lxxiv.

4, that is in June, An. J. P. 4234, and took up one month: and in autumn, three months after, on the full moon, the 16th day of the month Munychion, was the battle of Salamis, and a little after an eclipse of the sun, which by calculation fell Oct. 2. His sixth year therefore began a little before June, suppose in spring, An. J. P. 4229, as above." Obs. on Dan. p. 141.

Computed from the preceding year of J. P. 4257. B. C. 457, assumed as the epoch of "the seventy weeks;" the 490 years, comprised in them, necessarily terminate in J. P. 4747. A. D. 34. To prove this the true year of the crucifixion, an ingenious train of reasoning is advanced by the admirable author, founded on the chronological characters which distinguished the last of the passovers, kept by our Lord; as he determines from a computation of the proper time of the paschal new-moons. On this argument, by which the date assigned by him to the Passion may be demonstrated, a more convenient opportunity will occur for enlarging, when we come to consider the last week of "the seventy;" which comprised our Lord's ministry. He, however, strengthens his conclusions on the same subject by an additional argument; deduced from the succession of the High Priests whose appointment, he contends, was annual, and took place at the time of the passover. "Theophilus," he observes, "was made high-priest in the first of Caius, Jonathas in the 22nd of Tiberius, and Caiaphas in the 21st of the same emperor: and therefore allotting a year to each, the passover when Annas succeeded to Caiaphas could not be later than the 20th of Tiberius, A. D. 34." Idem. ibid. p. 167.

On the preceding extracts, to which I implicitly subscribe, little further remains to be added at present: vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. p. 619. c. Lightf. Works, vol. xi. p. 313. d. It may be, however, observed, that they were found so impregnable by Whiston, notwithstanding his disposition to cavil at them, that he has left them unaffected by a single objection: see VI. Diss. incl. Rem. on Newt. obs. on Dan. p. 306. And if the principle of Bucholcer be admitted; the conclusion of Newton cannot be disproved. "Satis igitur demonstratum est, initium regni Longimani rectè referri ad principium Olympiadis 79: quod quidem est hujus negocii caput, et fundamentum supputationis hebdomadum." Isagog. Chron. p. 72. As this Olympiad commenced

upon August 3rd, J. P. 4250, (vid. Dodw. de Cycl. p. 711. 750.): and Artaxerxes, according to the Canon, must have ascended the throne before Dec. 17th of the same year: the limits are thus fixed, between which his accession must have occurred; and the accuracy with which the time of it has been determined by Newton is consequently placed beyond a doubt. That the date, which he has assigned to the crucifixion, has been determined with no less precision and certainty, admits of demonstration, from the paschal cycle, by which the time of the last passover kept by our Lord was decided: see n. on p. 267. l. 11.

P. 179. l. 22. See n. on p. 31. l. 5.

P. 180. l. 6. The seventh of Artaxerxes, from whence the epoch of "the seventy weeks" is deduced, has been referred to the year of J. P. 4257: and that of the crucifixion of our Lord, in which they terminated, to the year of J. P. 4747: see n. on p. 177. l. 30. On dividing these years respectively by 7, to determine their place in the sabbatical series, the remainder 1, left after division, shews, that the *first* year of the cycle, commenced from autumn, in both of them. As Ezra, however, appears to have reached Jerusalem about the autumn of J. P. 4257: his return must be computed from the beginning of the *first* year of the sabbatical series; whereas our Lord having been crucified, at the time of the passover, in the spring of J. P. 4747, he suffered in the middle of the *seventh*, or proper sabbatical year.

It is not to be supposed, that the expedition from Babylon under Ezra could have travelled in the winter. His declaration, therefore, that "he came to Jerusalem in the *fifth month* in the seventh year of the king," (Ezr. vii. 8.), cannot be understood of the fifth, computed from the beginning of the king's reign, or of the civil year of the Jews, as they both commenced in the autumn. In declaring, that "upon the first day of the *first month*, began he to go up from Babylon," (ibid. 9.), he must be consequently supposed to reckon from the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, which commenced in the spring: vid. Noris. Epist. de num. Herod. p. 71. d. He had a similar task to perform, and was vested with a like function to that of Moses, on his departure from Egypt, (see Prid. Con. vol. ii. p. 462. c.); it was therefore not only natural but consistent, that he should compute from the

season, in which at that time its beginning was fixed. The fittest time was thus selected for his journey; and such as the ancients were alone accustomed to choose, in entering upon distant expeditions. As Jerusalem was reached by the beginning of the fifth month; but two months remained from the return of Ezra to the opening of the *first year* of the sabbatical series, which commenced September 21st, B. C. 457.

## LECTURE VIII.

P. 185. l. 28. The different opinions which have been held respecting the epoch of "the seventy weeks" are thus summed up by Leidekker; "Fatemur interim inter Interpretes et Chronologos disceptari, unde Initium Hebdomadarum sit repetendum, et quis Finis sit ponendus. Quinque autem hic sunt præcipuæ opiniones. Una enim illos incipit ab edicto Cyri: Altera ab eodem confirmato per Darium Hystaspis. Tertia et Quarta ab ætate Artaxerxis Longimani; Quinta à tempore Darii Nothi. Quatuor autem Priores Hebdomadas finiunt in morte Messiæ, at Ultima in Excidio II. Urbis et Templi, id est Reipublicæ Hebræorum per Romanos." Rep. Hebr. tom. ii. lib. v. c. 8. p. 395. This last hypothesis has been espoused by Scaliger and his disciples, Calvisius, and Helvicus; as well as by Junius, Grotius, Drusius, Polanus, Emmius, &c.: vid. Leidek. ib. p. 396. It has been decisively refuted by Prideaux; Con. vol. ii. p. 388.

As it has been proved, that all those hypotheses, with the exception of one, involve insurmountable difficulties; it may be shewn, that the prophecy has not been fulfilled in different ways. The computations founded on the solar and lunar year, seemed to promise the most favorable result; on their being deduced from different years of the reign of Artaxerxes. But while it appears, on the testimony of history, that those years were the seventh and twentieth of that monarch; and has been rendered apparent, that the prophecy was fulfilled in 490 solar years,

deduced from the earlier epoch; a single observation will prove the impossibility, of its being fulfilled in 490 lunar years, deduced from the latter. Between that period of time, computed by both species of year, there is a difference of *fifteen* years; but between the seventh and twentieth of the monarch's reign, from which they should be respectively deduced, a difference merely of *thirteen*. Until it can be shewn, that these periods are commensurate; the supposition that the intervals, computed from the assumed epochs, will be found to close in the same year, is not merely erroneous but absurd: see n. on p. 172. l. 22.

P. 187. l. 19. According to the Jews themselves, all prophecy related to the Messiah, and the Redemption which would be effected by his advent. "Denique locus est magnopere observandus in commentariis Raschi in Zach. ix. i. 'אמר מר וגו' Mar dixit, omnes Prophetæ non prophetarunt nisi de annis Redemtionis et diebus Messiæ: sic legitur ista traditio in Siphre.' His verbis dictum istud Raschii citat Raimundus Pugionis Fidei, P. III. dist. 3. c. 3. Quo pacto autem factum sit, ut illud aliter prorsus hodie legatur, nescio; parum autem refert, cùm idem habeamus Berach. fol. 34. b....Quod Judæis modernis, qui clara de Messia dicta enervare et aliò torquere non dubitant, meritò oppositum esse volumus." Cramer. Theol. Israel. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 208. Comp. Rev. xix. 10.

P. 189. l. 16. The epoch and close of "the seventy weeks" having been fixed in J. P. 4257, and J. P. 4747, see n. on p. 177. l. 12, the limits of the intermediate periods, of 49 and 434 years, into which the prophetical period is distributed, are easily determined; that of the first coinciding with J. P. 4306, that of the second with J. P. 4740: the former of which corresponds with the year B. C. 408, the latter with A. D. 27: see nn. to p. 199. l. 20. p. 239. l. 4.

P. 190. l. 11. The almost insensible difference between לחתם "to seal up," and לחתם "to finish," has given rise to a various reading in the original of Daniel, ix. 24: vid. Grier. Prolus. p. 730. conf. Simon. Anal. Lect. Masor. p. 38. But whichever of those terms be adopted, the sense will remain unaffected: as the former term is used, in the Hebrew, with the sense of the latter. Thus, according to St. Jerome, it was understood, in the passage

before us, by the Jews, in his own days; as he offers the following paraphrase as conveying their sense of its meaning; "Et signabitur visio et prophetia, (*ut nequaquam propheta inveniatur in Israel*) et ungetur sanctus sanctorum." Com. in Dan. tom. iv. p. 518. c. Prideaux to the same purpose, justly observes; "the same word, which signifieth to seal up in Hebrew, is also used to signify to finish or compleat, because the putting of the seal to any instrument or writing compleats the matter, about which it is, and finisheth the whole Transaction." Con. vol. ii. p. 379. n. Although Cramer was inclined, from the object which he had immediately in view, to form a different estimate of the subject; he notwithstanding cites Maimonides, as having been professedly of the same opinion; "Maimonides Comment. in Ber. l. 4. dixerat חתם esse, סוף *finire*," &c. Theol. Israel. ut supr. p. 190. Conf. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. v. c. 7. tom. ii. p. 392.

The testimony of the versions may be therefore regarded as confirming the reading of the copies from which they were taken, rather than giving an adverse sense to the passage. In the Greek Vulgate we read, ἐξ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας ἐξ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὅρασιν ἐξ προφήτην. In the Latin, "et *finem accipiat* peccatum..... et *impleatur* visio et prophetia." In the Syriac, ܘܢܫܠܡ ܚܙܘܬܐ ܘܢܫܠܡ ܚܛܗܐ et consumantur peccata... et compleantur visio et prophetæ. In the Spanish of the Jews; "y por *acabar* pecados....y por *sellar* vision y propheta:" in that of De Valera, "y *concluyr* pecado....y para *sellar* la vision y la prophecia." In the Italian of Diodati; "e per far *venir meno* i peccati....e per *suggelar* la visione, ed i profeti." In the German of Luther; "und die Sünde *zugesiegelt*....und die Gesichte und Weissagung *zugesiegelt*." In the French of the protestant Church; "pour *consumer* le péché....pour *accomplir* la vision et la prophétie," in which last, the authors of the version, while they have performed the part of commentators rather than translators, have unfortunately misrepresented the sense of the passage, in paying unmerited deference to the Vulgate.

P. 196. l. 19. It has been rather the fashion of sceptics and free-thinkers, to ascribe too much, than too little, to Ezra; in the part which is generally assigned to him, as the compiler and editor of the scripture canon, after the return from captivity.

Spinoza, with his usual ignorance and effrontery, led the way, in charging him with having forged the books, which he published under the name of Moses, Theol. Polit. c. 9: in which opinion he has been followed by Semler, in his plea for free-thinking in the interpretation of the Old Testament, and by D. G. Rosenmüller in his endeavour to prove Genesis a compilation from two different documents. Of the same value and character are the speculations of Ilgen, Jerusalem, Eichorn, and other wild neological dreamers; who discover no authority in the sacred books, unless in support of their profane and senseless reveries.

The account of the recovery of the Book of the Law by Hilkiah, furnishes the only pretext which can give a color of plausibility to the suspicions which have been raised against its authenticity: which notwithstanding admits, as we formerly observed, of a simple and satisfactory explanation. So far is the narrative of that event, and the unaffected description of the effect which it produced upon king Josiah, from bringing discredit on the inspired volume, that they stand as historical testimony, establishing the fact of its having been received and preserved as the autograph of Moses. So much is plainly implied, in the few short unambitious phrases, in which that important event is recorded: "And they *brought out the money*, that was brought into the house of the Lord. Hilkiah the priest found the *Book of the Law* of the Lord *in the hand* of Moses:" 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. For, as Dr. Kennicott justly observes on the singularity of the phrase, את ספר תורת יהוה ביד משה "though there are fifteen places in the Old Testament, which mention the words, 'the Law of Moses' and 'Book of Moses,' yet this one place only mentions 'the Book of the Law *in the hand*,' or by the hand 'of Moses;' the reason of which seems to be, that the other places speak of that Law in general, but this place speaks of one particular manuscript, namely, *the original*." Dissert. vol. ii. p. 131. On the possibility of its being preserved Kennicott adds, "This manuscript certainly might be the original, for the most extended chronology does not make the interval, from the death of Moses to the death of Josiah, 950 years—an age exceeded by that of several manuscripts preserved at this day." Id. ibid. p. 229.

Nor is this conclusion in the least invalidated, by the account

introduced to the knowledge of Europe at the instigation of Archbishop Ussher. As the edition of the Pentateuch which they have preserved proves, by its bare existence, the care with which the sacred books have been preserved from the earliest times; it demonstrates, on inspection, the fidelity with which the inspired text has been retained from change or corruption: and thus serves to expose the futility of the objections which have been raised to the authenticity of the Scriptures, from the antiquity to which they lay claim.

P. 197. l. 1. Vid. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. vi. c. 8. tom. i. p. 482. lib. x. c. 7. § 6. 7. tom. 2. p. 606. Prid. Con. p. 1. b. 3. vol. i. p. 224.

Ibid. l. 16. Id. ibid. vol. ii. p. 461. Leidek. ibid. lib. vi. c. 7. tom. ii. p. 477.

P. 198. l. 8. The authority of the copies of the Scriptures, which are received by the Jewish Church, rests on the character of Ezra, by whom it is generally admitted they were revised and republished. Those who receive the book, which has been added to the Canon on his authority, cannot consistently reject the revisal of the inspired works of his predecessors, which he had read and interpreted to the people, after the return from the Captivity. Nehem. viii. 4. seq.

From the bare consideration of the existence of the Law in the Chaldee character; conclusive evidence arises, that the body of the Scriptures was disposed, by the hand of Ezra, in the form which they now possess and have retained immemorially. That the books of Moses were written in the Samaritan character, is expressly admitted by the Talmudists, who preserved the tradition of the schools of Babylon and Jerusalem: see Megill. fol. 71. 2. 3. Sanhedr. fol. 21. 2. et 22. 1. ap. Lightf. Works, vol. xi. p. 100. 101. Their opinion, which is entitled to the higher respect, as it is opposed to their national prejudice and pretensions, is fully confirmed by the evidence of the ancient Jewish coins, and the copies of the Pentateuch preserved by the Samaritans. Even those who allow no weight to the latter, in deciding this long contested question, are compelled to admit the testimony of the former, in bringing it to an issue: vid. Hotting. de Num. Orient. p. 133. seq. conf. p. 145. c. 148. c.

Those standing monuments of the integrity of the Samaritan Pentateuch leave the objections of those sceptics involved in insurmountable difficulties, who reject the constant tradition of the Jewish Church, respecting the character in which the Law was written by Moses. On allowing these objections to possess any force, it is thus inexplicable, how the Israelites should have used two different alphabets. If the copies written in the *Chaldee* be supposed to retain the original letters; it is equally inexplicable, how the coins should be inscribed with a different character. For the name of Jerusalem, in the legend of the shekel, proves that it was not struck by the Samaritans; and no genuine coins have been found with inscriptions in Chaldee characters. Hotting. ibid. p. 143. a. 149. d. A difficulty, equally embarrassing, is involved in the supposition, when regarded with reference to the Samaritans: as it is thus inexplicable, that they should have possessed the Law in the ancient Hebrew *language*, and have rejected the *character* in which it was originally written. This is a supposition, which is the more inadmissible, as every difficulty at once disappears on allowing the testimony of the traditionists; that the Chaldee character was adopted by the Jews, with the Chaldee language, during the Babylonish Captivity.

To the testimony thus supported, it is, therefore, idle to oppose the internal evidence, adduced by Hottinger, and the external suggested by Prideaux; who have vainly endeavoured to show, that the Samaritan Pentateuch has been transcribed from a copy written in Chaldee characters: vid. Hotting. Exerc. Anti-Morin. p. 44. 53. Prid. Con. vol. ii. p. 129. But no reply has been given to two objections, or seems capable of being given to them; by which this hypothesis appears to be at once subverted. No revolution has taken place in the state of the people, to whom a course so inexplicable is imputed; none that could have induced them to change the ancient characters employed by Moses, for letters, which could have no recommendation but their antiquity. The various readings of the Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuch which Hottinger has cited in support of his hypothesis, are justly rejected by Kennicott, as wholly inadequate to its establishment. Diss. ubi supr. p. 133. He objects to those readings, with very

different effect to that with which they have been advanced, that they are only supported by the consent of two corrupt manuscripts; one of which is probably a transcript from the other, the earlier and purer copies not agreeing in the corruption. This sentence appears the more conclusive, as on such manuscripts the recension of Ezra might have had some influence: a supposition which is not only less violent than that proposed by Prideaux, but may be more easily reconciled with the hypothesis, in which he maintains that it acquired this influence, on the defection, and through the interference, of the apostate Manasseh. Prid. ibid. p. 589.

As the difference between the characters of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch must be consequently ascribed to the influence of Ezra; we may thence form an idea of the alterations produced upon the scriptures by his revision. In the innovation, which has been imputed to him by the common tradition, he was most probably preceded by Daniel, if not by Ezekiel. The uniformity which would be naturally studied by the former prophet in his writings, it is probable, first led to the expression of the Hebrew in Chaldee characters, as is now observable in his writings. In the part which remained for Ezra to discharge, in preparing the scriptures for general use; he must have thus found some change unavoidable. In publishing an uniform edition, he must have transcribed Daniel in the Samaritan character, or Moses in the Chaldee. But the Hebrew used by the latter having now become a dead language; he naturally and judiciously preferred the alphabet which was proper to the dialect, that had become vernacular. Thus upon just and adequate grounds, the latter expedient seems to have been adopted: as it not only tended to promote the circulation of the scriptures, but to facilitate the mode of interpretation, which he recommended by his authority and example. Nor is it improbable, that an additional motive for the adoption of the new character was supplied to the Jews, in the consideration, that the old was distinguished by the preference of the Samaritans: see Nehem. viii. 4. seq.

As all circumstances thus concur in proving Ezra the author of this innovation, in the sacred text; from the necessary consequence, that every letter was changed, it seems to follow, that

the whole text must have undergone his revision. Such in fact, is the sentence of his countrymen; who speak of the original work, as proceeding from him, in the same terms, that the sacred historian uses, in mentioning the autograph of Moses. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, which offers its testimony as "a tradition, R. Josi saith, Ezra was fit, by whose hands the law might have been given, but that the age of Moses prevented. But although the law was not given *by his hand*, yet the writing (that is, the forms of the letters) and the language were given *by his hand*. 'And the writing of the epistle was writ in Syriac,' and rendered in Syriac,' Ezra, iv. 7," in Megill. fol. 71. 2. 3. ap. Lightf. ubi supr. vol. xi. p. 100. The Hellenistic Jews entertained still higher notions of the learned scribe's powers and labors: vid. 2 Esdr. xiv. 21—24—36—47. On estimating his pretensions on the very lowest grounds, the fidelity with which his undertaking was executed may be inferred, from the opinion which he entertained of the Law, in acknowledging that it was "*written by Moses* at the commandment of *the Lord*:" Nehem. viii. 14. As well as from the rule which it prescribed to those, who undertook to transcribe it; that they should "not add unto the word nor diminish ought from it." Deut. iv. 2. Of the alterations and improvements which, it is supposed, he introduced into the sacred Canon an account is given in Prid. ut supr. p. 475. seq.

It does not, however, appear, that his innovations proceeded to the extent which has been gratuitously asserted. In preparing the sacred books, for being read and expounded, he necessarily divided the text into sections. Prid. ibid. p. 478. Leidek. ut supr. lib. vi. c. 7. §. 7. p. 487. Many passages, which appear to be additions to the end of a book, thus prove to be merely transferred from the commencement of the following: comp. Ezra, i. 1. 2. with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. 23. and Jer. li. 64. seq. with 2 Kings, xxiv. 18. seq. The difficulty, which has been found in Deut. xxxiv. 5. seq. is thus easily disposed of, without the necessity of recurring to the supposition, that it was added by Ezra's hand, not subjoined by the author of "Judges."

By following up the same supposition, when due allowance is made, for the means provided by Ezra, for reading and explaining

the Scripture, Nehem. viii. 8; those shorter phrases, which pass for the interpolations of a late and unskilful hand, are easily disposed of. In the descriptions in which the scriptures abound, the reference to places is frequent; and where changes had arisen in their names, from the revolutions effected by time or migration; it was not only natural but necessary, that some pains should be used by the expositors employed by Ezra, in pointing them out to their audience. On the contrary, where the existing state of things, notwithstanding those changes, bore evidence to the fidelity of the sacred narrative, or gave an interest to the description; it was equally natural that those persons would not omit the opportunity to direct to them their hearer's attention. It will be besides, discovered, on an inspection of the passages which have been proscribed as interpolated in the text; that, by two characters, they disclose the grounds of the change which it has suffered. They generally agree with the state of things, at the time of Ezra's revisal, as contradistinguished from that, when it may be presumed the books in which they appear might have been written. They are besides so slightly appended to the text, that they may be detached from it, without materially affecting its signification. In these characters they retain internal evidence of being mere glosses; which, it is probable, were added in the margin, or in interlineations by the hand of the reviser, for the direction of the expositor. Had they been thus inserted in the original copies, which Ezra revised; after one or two transcriptions of his autograph, they would have been easily incorporated in the text. And we well know, from the common effect of marginal glosses upon the copies of Scripture; that the fuller text, if it is more clear and explanatory, is generally distinguished by the preference of the transcriber. The course, which is here pointed out, as most probably taken by the transcribers of Ezra's revised copy, is observed to be of such frequent occurrence, that it may be rather said to be founded upon experience than conjecture. It commends itself to attention, by the additional consideration, that, while it serves to vindicate the authority of the inspired text, it tends equally to prove the respect with which it was regarded by Ezra; and with which the Jews regarded it, when it had undergone his revision. With neither supposition,

can the conjecture of Whiston be reconciled, that those interpolations could have been made in the text, after his times, by a different hand, or have retained a place in it, in opposition to the authority of his revisal. While with each supposition, the hypothesis is on the contrary easily reconciled, by which the same writer proposed to discover the interpolations of the text, and to recover the authentic reading from that of Josephus. If we suppose, with him, that the copy of Scripture,—which the Jewish historian declares, was saved in the destruction of the Temple, and given him by Titus,—was the autograph of Ezra; and that it possessed those marginal notes, which, according to what has been conjectured, were inserted for the direction of the expositor appointed by Ezra; the inference would not differ essentially from that which has been expressly drawn by Whiston. As Josephus must have perceived, in the copy recovered from the Temple, the difference between the text and gloss; and as he must have observed, that the latter was generally as applicable to the time of Ezra, as unsuitable to that in which he lived himself; he would be necessarily induced to pass it over unnoticed. The difference between his text and that of Scripture, would, under this view, be similar to that which his translator has observed: and the historian's omission of those readings, which were palpable glosses, would consequently afford no inconclusive evidence, that they were marked as such, in the authentic copy, which he had received from Titus: see Whiston, VI. Dissert. §. 1. p. 82. §. 13. p. 92. seq. To the instances which are here collected with much apparent care, the reader must be referred, for an exemplification of the preceding observations; which will, I trust, be found, on examination, adequate to account for those readings in the sacred text, which have been urged in invalidation of its authority.

We are at least justified in concluding from the preceding remarks, that the departure from the character which Moses used, and which was retained by the Samaritans, is to be traced to the incorporation of the Prophets in the Canon of Scripture. As the last of the inspired order wrote in the time of the Captivity; they naturally conformed to the mode of writing, employed by the natives, among whom they were resident, and whose

language they adopted. Such it is not to be denied, was the case of Daniel. And as it is probable, this prophet had collected the books of his inspired predecessors, as it is certain, he possessed those of Jeremiah; it is not less so, that he transcribed them in the character which he employed himself, and which was familiar to his countrymen. This precedent would have furnished Ezra with sufficient authority, for extending the principle to the Books of Moses: while it would be wholly without effect on the Samaritans, as they rejected the prophetical writings. Comp. n. on p. 116. l. 30.

P. 198. l. 20. Leidek. uti supr. lib. vi. c. 7. p. 466.

Ibid. l. 26. Id. ibid.

P. 199. l. 7. The Jews, as well of the Hellenistic as the Rabbinical class, agree with the Christians, in supposing, that the order of prophets ceased with the last of those whose works are incorporated in the scripture canon: vid. Sotah, f. 24. 2. 2 Esdr. i. 39. 40. Joseph. contr. Apion, lib. i. p. 1036. d. Hier. in Esai. c. 49. tom. iv. p. 158. c. conf. Lightf. Works, vol. xii. p. 575. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. vi. c. 7. p. 478.

Ibid. l. 12. See Prid. Con. vol. ii. p. 588.

Ibid. l. 17 and 23. Id. ibid.

P. 201. l. 2. Vid. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. vi. c. 6. §. 4. p. 462. seq. c. 7. p. 483. conf. Prid. ut supr. p. 467.

Ibid. l. 5. Leidek. ibid. c. 9. §. 3. p. 498.

Ibid. l. 13. Id. ibid. conf. c. 4. p. 449. seq. c. 6. p. 467. seq. c. 7. p. 473. Prid. ut supr. p. 479. seq.

P. 202. l. 17. Vid. Leidek. ut supr. c. 8. p. 483. lib. viii. c. 6. p. 614. conf. Seld. de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 13. §. 1. p. 366.

Ibid. l. 21. On the fate and history of the Sanhedrim may be consulted Leidek. ut supr. lib. viii. c. 6. p. 610. seq. Seld. ut supr. lib. ii. c. 15. §. 1—3. p. 366. seq.

P. 203. l. 28. See n. on p. 247. l. 16.

P. 204. l. 3. The impunity, with which Pilate introduced the images of Tiberius into Jerusalem, proved the authority of the Sanhedrim to have been virtually abolished. The Jews in remonstrating against the aggression, declared, that it had never been attempted by any former governor; Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 4. p. 621. c. Phil. Leg. ad Caium. p. 1034. b. They

equally complained, that by this profanation their "laws were trampled under foot." Joseph. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 789. c. The national Council had the power of punishing, by decapitation, those who were guilty of homicide, or promoting idolatry; Seld. de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 333. The laws by which both crimes were prohibited were, on this occasion, violated in the most outrageous manner by Pilate. He not only introduced the images of the emperor into the city, but repressed the commotions which were excited by his exactions, by butchering the citizens: Joseph. Antiq. ib. p. 621. c. f. Bel. Jud. ib. p. 789. c. g.

These enormities were committed by him, on entering upon his government; which took place A. D. 27. as appears, from the length of it, as fixed by the death of Tiberius. According to Josephus, he was superseded by the President Vitellius, when he had governed ten years, and reached Rome, shortly after the death of that Emperor. Joseph. Antiq. ib. c. 5. p. 624. b. Now, as Tiberius died, March 26th, in the Consulate of An. Acerronius Proculus and C. Pontius Nigrinus. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 13. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 50. which according to the Fasti Consulares, occurred A. D. 37: if the ten years be subducted, during which he continued to rule, the commencement of his government must have fallen in the spring of A. D. 27. It appears from Josephus, that the introduction of the images into Jerusalem took place at *the close* of the year; on the entering of the troops into their winter quarters in that city. Joseph. Antiq. ib. p. 621. b. About *this time*, the first year of the last week of Daniel commenced, with the ministry of our Saviour: see n. on p. 177. l. 12. p. 239. l. 4.

## LECTURE IX.

P. 209. l. 8. That a prominent part has been assigned the Romans, in the prophecy of "the seventy weeks," has been acknowledged by Jews and Christians: vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. c. 12. p. 354. g. R. Manass. Ben. Israel. R. Sal. Jarchi.

R. Jos. Ben. Jachia. al. ap. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 408. seq. Hier. Com. in Dan. p. 517. c. 518. f.

P. 210. l. 6. The death of Herod the great took place before the first year of the nativity had expired: vid. Noris. Epist. de Num. Herod. Antip. p. 63. d. 79. b. On his demise, his territories descended to his sons, with a great reduction of their rank and authority: vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 13. p. 611. e. f. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 789. a. Of the circumstances, under which the succession was perpetuated in his family, the same learned antiquary and chronologist observes: "Mortuo Herode, ejusdem filii Romam ad Augustum transmiserunt de successione in paternum regnum secum invicem litigantes; Augustus Archelaum, Herodem Antipam ac Philippum, tres in partes paternò regno diviso, Dynastas instituit." Id. Cenotaph. Pisan. diss. 2. c. 6. p. 134. f. al. 146. In the contest for the crown, which thus arose among the sons of Herod, Augustus, to whom they referred their differences, was at first disposed to confer the kingdom on Archelaus: Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 11. p. 605. d. In the embassy which the Jews sent to Rome, on the occasion of the disturbances arising from these disputes; they declared that they preferred being under their own laws to being governed by a king: id. ibid. c. 12. p. 610. a. d. Of the territory of the governor, under whom our Lord's ministry commenced, it is further observed by the learned and accurate writer already quoted; "Idem Herodes Joannem Baptistam adulterium sibi exprobrantem, immani sævitiâ capite abscisso, interemit. Ad hunc Pilatus Christum Dominum a Judæis captum transmisit, ut cognovit, quòd de Herodis potestate esset, Lucæ xiii; vixerat enim Servator in urbe Galilææ Nazareth intra *Herodis Tetrarchiam*. Cùm idem Pilatus plebem sibi obsistentem, immisso milite, promiscuâ cæde in fugam compulisset, Agrippa Herodis nepos, patruo infensus, quod sibi apud Tyrum in publico convivio paupertatem exprobrâsset, ex Josepho lib. 18 cap. 8 in Italiam navigans, Herodem uti popularium cædis auctorem sive consiliarium apud Imperatorem Tiberium incusavit; quam tamen accusationem non modò Tiberius admittere recusavit, verùm etiam paulò post Agrippam ipsum delatum, quòd cum Caio Caligula curru vectus, celerem eidem successionem voto adprecatus fuerat, sub custodiâ in vinculis detinendum jussit." Noris. Epist. uti supr. p. 66. d.

P. 210. l. 14. Comp. n. on p. 204. l. 3. p. 221. l. 19.

Ibid. l. 19. See n. on p. 247. l. 16.

P. 211. l. 9. See Prid. Con. p. i. b. v. vol. ii. p. 424. conf. Grier. Prolus. in Dan. p. 753. Cramer. Schol. Prophet. cl. p. 203.

P. 213. l. 9. In the phrase, עם נגיד הבא "the *people* of the *leader* which is to come," the terms employed by the prophet, appear particularly applicable to the Romans, above all nations of antiquity. After the expulsion of the kings, their jealous attachment to liberty was in nothing more strongly manifested than in the emphatical appropriation of the term *populus*. And when they surrendered their freedom, the line of usurpers by whom it had been seized, continued to flatter their military attachment by assuming no higher title than that of *imperator*. These terms may be regarded as perfectly synonymous with those employed in the prediction: vid. Pitisc. Lexic. sub. voc: nor does the Hebrew differ essentially from the Latin, in the use of the equivalent terms. On the antecedent of them there can be no question; with respect to the subsequent, the following observation is made by Grier. "נגיד *Dux, antecessor*, quo ipso tum majestas, tum officium comprehenditur, ita ut potestate *antecedat alios*, nec non etiam præsentem se (à נגר *coram*) sistat semper suo exercitui aut subditis, quos instar capitis *antecedit atque regit.*" Prolus. ut supr. p. 742. This view of the single term in the phraseology of the prophet, which admits of any doubt, is fully confirmed by the only ancient versions, whose authority is deserving of notice. Thus the Septuagint renders the phrase, *σὺν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ ἐρχομένῳ*; and the Latin Vulgate, "*populus* cum *duce* venturo." The title is ascribed to Pompey by Cicero, in speaking of the identical event which the prophet had predicted. "Cn. Pompeius, *captis Hierosolymis*, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter: quòd in tam suspiciosâ, ac maledicâ civitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit; non enim credo, religionem et Judæorum, et hostium, impedimento *præstantissimo imperatori*, sed pudorem fuisse." Orat. pro L. Flacco. c. 68. tom. ii. p. 512.

Ibid. l. 22. Vid. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. vii. c. 6. p. 558.

Ibid. l. 27. Id. lib. viii. c. i. p. 579. seq.

P. 214. l. 18. Joseph. Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 5. p. 720. c. d. Dio. lib. xxxvii. p. 41. b.

P. 215. l. 7. Id. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 28. p. 507. c. seq. Dio. lib. xlix. p. 463. c.

Ibid. l. 12. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 17. p. 484. g. xv. c. i. p. 510. b. d.

Ibid. l. 27. The time, at which Herod became possessed of power, must have contributed in no small degree to place him at the head of a sect, which, during the ministry of our Lord, were the rivals of the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Jews have been disposed, at all times, to compute "the seventy weeks" from the issuing of the decree for their liberation by Cyrus: vid. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. v. c. 9. vol. ii. p. 410. At that distance of time, from the accession of Cyrus to the sovereignty of Asia, Herod acquired the government of Cœle-Syria, from his connexion with the Romans; and was dissuaded from the attempt to possess himself of Jerusalem, merely by the influence of his father and brother: Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 17. Conf. Usser. Annal. p. ii. p. 360. b.

It has been supposed, that the sect which was distinguished by his name agreed with the Sadducees in their religious opinions: Lightf. vol. xi. p. 271. 417. It is, however, more probable, that they were principally Essenes. It is at least certain, that these sectaries were favored by Herod, and that they agreed with that prince in the laxity of their religious opinions: Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. p. 541. g. Among other points of doctrine, in which they yielded to a philosophical bias, it has been supposed, that they held the notions of the Sadducees on the doctrine of the resurrection: vid. Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 564.

In support of the supposition of Huet, that they acquired their title from acknowledging Herod as the Messiah, no inconclusive evidence might be deduced from the public works of that splendid monarch; more particularly his dedication of a temple to Augustus, and his complete reconstruction of the temple of Jerusalem. It may be, at present remarked, that when the Herodians are introduced in the narrative of the Evangelists; the allusion is plain to the character, which, it would appear, he was desirous of appropriating. The points, in which they sought to entangle our

Lord, generally turn on the question of *supremacy*; either as reserved for the Messiah, (Matt. xvi. 12. 13. 16. Mark, viii. 11. 15. 27.) or as ceded to Cæsar, (Matt. xxii. 15. 16. 17. 23. Mark, xii. 13. 14. 17.) Had they been merely court parasites, as has been maintained by some, it is not easy to conceive, what personal interest they could have had in the decision of those questions, particularly when Herod was dead. But admitting, that they had recognised, in him, the expected personage, whose advent it was predicted would take place before the second temple should be overthrown; it was an object, to confound those who placed their hopes on a different person, or to implicate them with the authorities, by whom the sovereignty had been usurped.

P. 216. l. 19. Vid. J. Cappel. ad A. M. 239. p. 18. b. conf. Des-Vignolles. Chron. tom. i. p. 741.

Ibid. l. 26. Id. ibid.

P. 217. l. 18. The force of the negative phrase, ואין לו, depends upon the significancy of the particle אין; which possesses a pronominal effect. As essentially distinguished from the adverb לא, with which it is confounded by the translators of the phrase in Daniel; it is equivalent to *no*, when it qualifies a noun, Jud. xiv. 3. 1 Sam. xxi. 8. Ps. xxxvi. 2; but to *nought, nothing*, when used absolutely, 1 Sam. xxi. 8. Is. xli. 12. 24. Jer. x. 7. In the latter form, it occurs in the phrase before us; the literal and proper meaning of which is consequently expressed by Junius, 'et nihil erit ipsi,' and in the margin of the received version, "and shall have nothing." To convey the sense expressed in the text, 'but not for himself,' the phrase should be, ולא לו: vid. Hab. ii. 6. Prov. xxvi. 17.

The question lying between these two meanings; the testimony of the ancient versions, if it cannot be cited in favor of the literal rendering, cannot be produced against it: that of the modern versions has been palpably accommodated to the doctrinal prejudices of the translators. In the Syriac vulgate, the phrase is understood of the city, which precedes in the context; ܘܠܐ ܠܗ ‘occidetur Christus et *non erit ipsi*,’ or ‘penes eam [urbem].’ In the Greek and Latin, it is unusually paraphrastic. The former wholly deserting the text reading, ἐξολοθρευ-

*θήσεται χρίσμα, ἢ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ*: the latter, 'occidetur Christus, et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est.'

Of the modern translations, the Bishops' Bible has, 'shall Messiah be slaine and *not for himself*:' Abp. Cranmer's; 'shall Christe be slayne, *and they shall have no pleasure in him.*' The Spanish of the Jews, leaving the difficulty where it was found: 'será tajado Ungido, *y no à el*:' that of De Valera, with the usual doctrinal bias, 'el Messias será muerto, *y no por sí.*' The French, in the same sense, 'le Christ sera retranché, *et non pas pour soi*,' the German, with a different meaning, though not more just, 'wird Christus ausgerottet werden, *und nichts mehr* seyn:' the Italian deviating from both, 'essendo sterminato il Messia, *senza che gli resti più nulla.*'

P. 217. l. 29. Vid. Seld. de Synedr. lib. i. c. 6. p. 44. Conf. p. 51. a.

P. 218. l. 13. R. Eliah Ben Moseh. ap. eund. ib. p. 50. b.

Ibid. l. 17. Seld. ibid. lib. ii. c. 14. §. 3. p. 359.

Ibid. l. 28. Id. ibid. lib. i. c. 6. p. 48. b. 51. a. The interpretation of Leidekker, though founded on an acknowledgment of the proper force of the term in question, takes it in a sense too extended,—"postquam Christum cruci affixerunt, et per כרת, *publico judicio et anathemate exciderunt ex suâ gente*, et terrâ viventium, quod prædixerat futurum Jesaias, c. liii. 8." Rep. Heb. tom. ii. p. 407. The latter part of the exposition is obviously founded on the authority of the prophet, not deduced from the force of the disputed term.

P. 220. l. 9. The term משיח, which occurs twice in the context, is applied by the Jews, in the first place, to the ethnic leader who was destined to fulfil the prediction; and, in the second, which is that before us, to the Holy of Holies. Leidek. ubi supr. tom. ii. p. 411. But by the confession of Manasseh, Ben Israel, (De term. vit. p. 175.), it is properly understood, by others,—among whom is Abarbanel,—as meant of the Messiah: vid. Grier. Prolus. p. 735. The phrase used by the prophet, משיח הנגיד, properly signifies Messiah the Prince; an 'anointed Prince,' would be properly expressed by נגיד חמשיח.

Had the term קדש קדשים been exclusively appropriated in Scripture to that part of the Temple, termed the 'Holy of Holies,'

as in Exod. xxvi. 33: there would have been some pretext, for supposing it confined to that sense, in the passage before us. It would have been then applicable to our Lord, only in the sense in which "he spake of the *temple of his body*:" vid. infr. n. on p. 322. l. 16. As that phrase, however, is *never* used in such a sense, without the demonstrative ה interjected; but, on the contrary, when the particle is omitted, is *always* used in the general sense of 'the most holy:' there can be little doubt, that the preference is due to the latter, as conveying the true meaning. And as the term משיח, which occurs twice in the context, is unquestionably used, in the phrase already noticed, in a *personal* sense; there can be as little doubt, that it is applied, in the same sense, to קדש קדשים in the other. That the person, thus designated, can be no other than *the Messiah*, the composition of the phrase, as has been already observed, places beyond all reasonable question: the term of which that title is composed, has in fact no other meaning. In the sense, thus ascribed to the passage of Daniel, and adopted in our received version, it has been already observed that many of the modern Jews concur; from the testimony of St. Jerome, it equally appears, that by those of his own times, it was regarded in no other light: vid. Hier. Com. in Dan. ix. tom. iv. p. 518. c.

The opposition which is observable between the rendering of the phrase in question, in some of the ancient and the modern versions, appears to be neutralised by these observations. Among them, it may be observed, that the Syriac, Greek and Latin Vulgate, accord with the English version. In the first of which, we accordingly read ܠܩܕܫ ܩܕܫܝܢ "usque ad Christum, sanctum sanctorum:" in the second, ἐ τοῦ χρίσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων: in the last named, 'et ungatur sanctus sanctorum." The Italian, French and German agree, in taking the same view of the passage: the Spanish of the Jews being followed by that of De Valera in understanding the phrase of "the Holy of Holies."

P. 220. l. 28. Those who may be disposed to dispute the force here assigned to Luke iii. 23. may be referred to the authorities quoted in Schleusn. N. T. Lex. vol. i. p. 374. Wolf. Cur. in loc. vol. i. p. 602. seq.

P. 221. l. 8. That our Lord, at the time of his baptism, had

just completed his thirtieth year, is maintained by Scaliger; Emend. Temp. lib. vi. p. 547. c. 549. b. His opinion appears to be confirmed by Num. iv. 3. in which the period for entering into the ministry is fixed between the limits of thirty and fifty: conf. Leidek. Rep. Heb. vol. i. p. 591. d. 594. h. In this view, the subject was regarded by St. Irenæus, whose opinion is not merely valuable for its venerable antiquity; but for the light which he has shed upon it, in determining the force of the Evangelist's language, and the practice of the Jewish Church by which it was illustrated. "Triginta quidem annorum exsistens cùm veniret ad Baptismum, deinde magistri ætatem perfectam habens, venit Hierusalem, ita ut ab omnibus justè audiret magister: non enim aliud videbatur et aliud erat, sicut inquiunt qui putativum introducunt; sed quod erat, hoc et videbatur. Magister ergo exsistens, magistri quoque habebat ætatem." Adv. Hæres. lib. ii. c. 22. §. 4. p. 147. "Quomodo enim habuit discipulos, si non docebat? Quomodo autem docebat, magistri ætatem non habens? Ad Baptismum enim venit nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tamquam triginta annorum: Ita enim, qui ejus annos significavit Lucas posuit: Jesus autem erat quasi incipiens triginta annorum, cùm veniret ad Baptismum." Id. ibid. §. 5. p. 148.

Had due attention been paid to the preceding passage of "Numbers," the difficulties in which the subject of our Lord's age has been embarrassed, from John, viii. 56. 57, would have been avoided: of which sceptics and infidels have taken advantage: see Middlet. Mirac. Powers, p. 45. 46. By the preceding passage of the Evangelist, the venerable father, and the authorities whom he followed, appear to have been misled; when in the warmth of his zeal for the confutation of his opponents, he seized upon the readiest arguments by which it might be effected. If the Jews, in objecting to our Lord, that "he was not yet fifty years old," be supposed to allude to the latest period at which he could have entered the ministry; and not to the age, which, it appears from St. John, he had positively attained, when he was recognised as a Rabbi: the incident recorded by the Evangelist would present no difficulty, that needed further explanation. From the scripture testimonies, thus illustrated, no inconclusive

evidence arises, that Jesus had not only attained the legal age, and was in his thirty-first year, when "commencing his course;" but that he had entered his thirty-seventh, when it was terminated by his crucifixion.

P. 221. l. 12. By the universal consent of Chronologists, the vulgar Christian era is deduced from January 1st, J. P. 4714. The time of the nativity, it is now generally allowed, preceded that time, by four years, six days, being dated Dec. 25th, J. P. 4709. The authorities by which it is supported are summed up by Cardinal Noris, in a tract which contributed to its final establishment. Epist. ad Pagium de num. Herod. Antip. p. 79. To the names of Dekker, Bucherius, Petavius, Pagi, which it enumerates, those of Kepler, Ussher, Cappel, Simson, &c. may be added.

Ibid. l. 19. By the controversy respecting the precise day of the nativity, which is generally admitted to have taken place in winter, the verification of the prophecy of Daniel is not affected. Whether we suppose it to have taken place towards the close of J. P. 4709, or the commencement of J. P. 4710, within which limits it demonstrably occurred:—the year 31 of our Lord proves coincident with J. P. 4740. A. D. 27. In this year, it has been frequently observed, in the course of these remarks, the last week of "the seventy" commenced; as the epoch of the prophetical period has been computed from J. P. 4257. B. C. 457: see n. on p. 189. l. 16. Of consequence, the time fixed for "the anointing of the Most Holy," exactly coincides with that in which our Lord received the prophetical unction. After the most careful examination, I can discover no solid ground for rejecting the tradition of the Christian Church; on the authority of which, the day of the nativity is referred to the 25th of Dec. The opposition which it has encountered, from certain essayists in chronological science, will not be deemed of much weight; when balanced against the consideration, that the evidence of its accuracy was found sufficient for the conviction of Kepler, Petavius, Ussher and Selden. The supposition of a disagreement, between the testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches, on which it proceeds, is founded upon a gross misconception of the evidence of Clemens Alexandrinus, which

proves nothing less than what has been imagined. It will not be long contended, that the speculations of the Docete heretics, are entitled to any respect; who from rejecting the facts of our Lord's life, reduced his putative ministry to *a year;* and thence assuming, that he was just 30, when he seemed to be crucified, determined the day of his imaginary nativity by that of his passion. Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 249. d. S. Iren. contr. Hær. lib. ii. c. 22. §. 4. 5. Comp. Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 543. 544. 692. n. 694. On separating these idle dreams from the testimony of Clement, which may be supposed to preserve the tradition of the Church, it implicitly confirms the generally received opinion. On a superficial examination, it may be thought, that he throws back the date of the nativity above a month; but he lays the foundation, for the correction of this error, by acknowledging, that the time of the crucifixion was computed by some, not from the 25th day of Phamenoth, but the 25th of the following month, Pharmuthi. On correcting the sum of Clement's computation, by the numbers which he has added together; his conclusion is, that "from the birth of our Lord to the death of Commodus, the whole consisted of 194 years, 1 month, 3 days." It is, however, certain that Commodus died on Dec. 31st, A. D. 192; Petav. Rat. Temp. p. i. lib. v. c. 8. p. 199. a. On deducting the preceding sum from this date; as we must withdraw the whole of December and 3 days from November, it necessarily determines the 27th of the latter month as the date of the nativity. But if the time between the crucifixion, or the baptism of our Lord, and the fall of Jerusalem, be computed from Pharmuthi instead of Phamenoth 25th, according to the suggestion of Clement; it will be reduced from 42 years 3 months, to 42 years 2 months; and the entire sum, from the nativity to the death of Commodus, according to that ancient father, be consequently reduced to 194 years 3 days. On deducting this sum from Dec. 31st, A. D. 192, as we shall then ascend only 3 days before the last day of the year; a date will be thus assigned the nativity which is separated from it but by a single day. And it is highly probable, that this inconsiderable difference may be resolved into a mere error of transcription, or computation; the difference between the cha-

racters, τ and ρ, to which it may be reduced, being not often perceptible in manuscripts.

Nor is there any uncertainty introduced into the tradition, by the supposed difference of a month, on which the preceding computations are respectively founded. That difference has palpably originated in an attempt to qualify the term ὡσεὶ, employed by St. Luke in declaring, that "Jesus himself was *about* thirty years of age," when he entered on his ministry. For the latitude of expression, thus used, a *month* was deemed a sufficient allowance. But Clement could not have been ignorant, that the crucifixion occurred nearer to *Phumenoth 25th*, than Pharmuthi 25th, which respectively corresponded with *March 21st* and April 20th. His computation is thus founded upon the interval between the former date, and the fall of Jerusalem: in his attempt to reconcile it to the declaration of St. Luke, the error of a month has been introduced into it, by which the date of the nativity has been proportionably affected.

As the testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches thus proves to coincide, respecting the true epoch of the Christian era, vid. Apost. Const. lib. v. c. 13. et n. Coteler; it is not only implicitly confirmed by Clement of Alexandria, but expressly by Theophilus Bishop of Cesarea, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose and others. It appears to be demonstrably confirmed by the hieratic cycle of 24 weeks; from the just computation of which the objections of Scaliger to the tradition, as founded on the ministry of Zacharias, are effectually answered: vid. Emend. Temp. lib. vi. p. 541. c. Can. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 306. d. This object was effected by Kepler, to whom Petavius concedes the merit of having perceived the force of the argument, deducible from that cycle,—by which the courses of the priests was determined,—in establishing the ecclesiastical tradition: vid. Petav. annot. in Epiphan. tom. ii. p. 211. d. In this last named chronologist, it may be seen drawn out, and applied, with a demonstrative force, which leaves little further ground for reasonable objection: vid. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. xii. c. 7. p. 417.

P. 222. l. 5. Chronologists, in computing "the fifteenth year of Tiberius," as mentioned by St. Luke, justly distinguish between his admission to an equality of power with Augustus over

*the provinces* and armies, and his accession to the government of *the empire*, Sueton. Tiber. c. 21. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. c. 121; a distinction which is clearly indicated in the term ἡγεμονία, used by the Evangelist, as opposed to αὐτοκρατορία, generally employed by historians, conf. Dio. lib. lvii. p. 690. d. 636. e. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. p. 619. b. The years of his authority over Judæa, being thus antedated two years to his succession to the empire; his first year must be dated A. D. 12. Usser. Annal. p. ii. p. 553. conf. Prid. Connex. vol. ii. p. 409. As the commencement of the years of his reign is computed from the day of Augustus's death, conf. Dio. lib. lvi. p. 676. a.; the fifteenth year must have extended from August 19th A. D. 26. to August 19th A. D. 27. Whether, therefore, we suppose our Lord to have been born at the close or the beginning of the year; and to have been baptized, a little before or after he was thirty: the unction to his ministry, as occurring in the "fifteenth year of Tiberius," must have fallen, at the commencement of *the last* of "the seventy weeks," which is computed from A. D. 27.

But if following the apostolical tradition, we assume, that the baptism of our Lord occurred on January 6th, vid. Apost. Const. lib. v. c. 13. et n. Coteler; as it must have then taken place before August 19th A. D. 27. J. P. 4740, it must have equally fallen within the time prescribed by the prophet, and intimated by the Evangelist. That day, as we have just seen, occurred "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cesar;" and as our Lord was born Dec. 25th J. P. 4709, he must have completed his 30th year Dec. 25th J. P. 4739. A. D. 26, and have consequently *entered* his 31st, on Jan. 6th A. D. 27. J. P. 4740. The manner in which Scaliger contends, that Luke, iii. 23, should be pointed and understood, derives no slight confirmation from the dates thus ascertained and distributed: conf. Emend. Temp. lib. vi. p. 547. c. Canon. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 306. a.

P. 227. l. 17. The selection of a particular house, by our Lord, at which he proposed to keep the Passover, and the account given of the preparations which were made in the guest-chamber, Mark, xiv. 15, would seem to intimate, that he was indebted to the hospitality of the owner, for more than might be claimed by an ordinary visitant, on such occasions. For, the

houses in Jerusalem, during the great festivals, when all the males, who were not incapacitated from age or disease, were required to present themselves in the temple, were open to all who might seek accommodation. Rooms were supplied by the householders, for the use of which no return was required, but the skin of the animal which had been sacrificed, and an earthen vessel which had been used at the time of the festival: vid. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. vol. i. p. 543.

Of this custom it is obvious our Lord availed himself, although in giving his disciples those directions, which enabled them to find a particular house, he provided for their meeting a favourable reception. It is implied in the terms, in which he directed them to claim the usual hospitality, that he was known to the person from whom he sought it. During the course of his ministry, it had been strange, had he not established a claim to more than might be demanded by a mere stranger. From the declarations of the Evangelist, it may be inferred, that the necessary preparations had been already made, for keeping the festival; and that the master and his family, for whom they were intended, gave place, on that occasion, to our Lord and his disciples.

P. 231. l. 24. For an estimate of the controversy, between the Jews and Christians, on the time of the Messiah, the reader may be referred to Leidek. Rep. Heb. vol. ii. p. 406. Such is the conviction, which the adversaries of Christianity have betrayed, of the desperation of their cause, that they have denounced those with a curse who shall venture to compute the time of his advent. It is difficult to pronounce, upon the manner in which they have labored to invalidate and evade the testimony of Daniel, whether it is more distinguished by its want of common candor, than of ordinary sagacity and information.

## LECTURE X.

P. 237. l. 9. See n. on p. 189. l. 16.

P. 238. l. 26. See n. on p. 177. l. 30.

P. 239. l. 4. The accuracy with which the limits of our Lord's ministry are ascertained, depends upon the precision with which the time of his baptism and crucifixion may be determined. The authorities, on which the date of the former rests, and by which it appears to be demonstrated, have been already stated; supr. n. to p. 221. l. 12 and 19. Conclusive evidence has been likewise adduced, respecting that of the latter, which places it beyond reasonable objection; supr. n. on p. 177. l. 12.

The establishment of the date of the crucifixion, which is of paramount importance in the present investigation, has been principally determined, on circumstantial evidence, and a concurrence of chronological characters. It may not be, therefore, inexpedient to examine them with a closer attention. It will, however, conduce to the final settlement of this long contested subject, to set the seven successive passovers, observed in the last of "the seventy weeks," before the reader; as determined by the calendar, which was used by the Jews, according to what is collected from the practice of Josephus: vid. Dodw. de Cycl. diss. ix. §. 22. seq. p. 398. seq. The seven years, of which that septenary consisted, extended from Sept. 21. A. D. 27. to Sept. 4. A. D. 34. inclusive: cf. Dodw. ibid. tab. p. 845. 846. cum p. 849. The successive passovers, which occurred in that time, as determined by the same calendar, may be consequently disposed as follows:

| A. D. | Nisan 14th. | J. P. |
|---|---|---|
| 28 . . | Tuesday, March 30 . . | 4741 |
| 29 . . | Monday, April 18 . . | 4742 |
| 30 . . | Friday, April 7 . . | 4743 |
| 31 . . | Wednesday, March 28 . . | 4744 |
| 32 . . | Monday, April 14 . . | 4745 |
| 33 . . | Monday, April 6 . . | 4746 |
| 34 . . | Friday, March 26 . . | 4747 |

On submitting the preceding dates to the test, in order to discover the true time of the Passover; the first place is due to the authority of scripture. Its testimony, however, is uniform in deciding in favor of the last Passover. (1) Independant of its falling upon the 14th of Nisan, which is the common character of the six Passovers with which it is attended, Exod. xii. 2. 6. 11: it also occurred *upon Friday;* this having been the day of the Passion, as our Lord was crucified on the day preceding the Sabbath; Mark, xv. 48. Luke, xxiii. 54. (2) According to a remark of Newton upon Luke, vi. 1: "the Passover two years before the Passion, when Christ went through the corn, and his disciples plucked the ears .... this ripeness of the corn shows the Passover *fell late.*" Obs. on Dan. p. 167. In the preceding scale there is but one Passover which happened later than that which occurred on April 14. A. D. 34. at the distance specified, from the last of the seven. (3) It equally appears from a remark of Whiston upon John, xviii. 18, that the Passover in which our Lord suffered was *early* in the year; as St. John assures us, that then "the servants and officers made a fire of coals; because *it was cold,* and warmed themselves." VI. Dissert. p. 310. Of the last Passover, it is observable that it was the earliest of the seven. (4) To these characters may be added that founded by Newton upon the succession of the High Priests: vid. supr. n. on p. 177. l. 30. Vitellius, on visiting Jerusalem, the year after his Consulate, which took place A. D. 35. (Dio. lib. lviii. p. 730. a.) made Jonathan High Priest, in place of Caiaphas, in the Passover of A. D. 36. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. p. 624. g. Caiaphas was of course promoted to the Pontificate in the preceding Passover of A. D. 35, having then succeeded his father Annas, or Chanan; who was consequently promoted, in that of A. D. 34. Joseph. ibid. p. 624. g. cf. 619. e. Lightf. vol. xi. p. 313. d. In conformity to this statement, it appears, from Act. iv. 6. that Annas was High Priest *after* the Passover of the year of the Passion; and from John, xviii. 13. 24. that Caiaphas was High Priest *before* it.

Of these *four* chronological characters, the *first* decides against all the preceding Passovers but the *third* and *seventh;* as they alone occurred upon Friday. And by the *three* last

characters, the former of these Passovers is equally excluded with the others. For, it did not occur at an early time of the year; neither was that late, which preceded it, with the intervention of one: nor did it take place at the precise conjuncture when Annas succeeded to Caiaphas. Of the seven Passovers, consequently, the last alone, in which these characters unite, must necessarily have been that in which our Lord suffered.

For the satisfaction, however, of those who may be disposed to object to the preceding evidence, as merely relative, positive testimony may be adduced; on which considerable stress appears to have been laid by the primitive Christians. In framing their creeds, they were accustomed to determine the time of our Lord's crucifixion, by reference to the administration of the Vice-president, under whom he suffered. From the times of Julius Cæsar, public journals had been common among the Romans, in which remarkable and interesting events were recorded; and which are constantly referred to, under the title of Acts of the Senate the People and Provinces: see Lardn. Col. of Heath. Test. ch. ii. p. 314. To those which were compiled by Pilate, appeals are frequently made by the early apologists for Christianity: vid. Tert. Apol. cap. 21. Just. Mart. Apol. i. §. 35. 48. And it is probable that to this source Tacitus was indebted for the account which he has given of the passion of Christ, under the Procurator Pontius Pilate. Annal. lib. xv. c. 44. It was the boast of the Quartadeciman sect, who professed to follow our Lord, in the time and manner of observing Easter, that they were borne out, in the observance of it, by "the Acts of Pilate;" and no exception was taken to the plea thus urged, but that some of the copies read otherwise than they quoted. Epiphan. adv. Hær. vol. i. p. 420. a. b. The day which they thus observed, as the anniversary of the Passion, having fallen on March 25th, Epiphan. ibid; the coincidence between it and the date of the last Passover in the preceding scale, identifies it beyond all reasonable exception. In professing to observe Easter on the *very day* when the Passover was kept by our Lord, they were as likely to preserve the tradition of it; as those, by whom it was observed as a moveable festival, were liable to lose the knowledge of it, and finally to substitute another day in place of it. In

this consideration, it may be observed, by the way, an adequate reason is assigned, for the obscurity which has so long involved a subject of such interest and importance.

As the *day* of the Passion was thus preserved; *the year*, in which it occurred, may be determined with equal accuracy, on the same authority. In consequence of the intelligence which was communicated by Pilate, and recorded in his "Acts," the emperor Tiberius proposed to the Roman Senate, that Christ should be enrolled among the national divinities: Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 2. And this proposition was made in the 22nd year of his reign; which coincided with A. D. 35. Id. Chron. ad. an. Tib. 22. It may be, however, concluded, from the time necessary to complete the record of the year of Pilate's government, in which our Lord suffered, and to convey it to Rome, that the intelligence, communicated to Tiberius, could not have reached it before the following year. On subducting this time from the 22nd year of his reign; the date of the crucifixion is necessarily referred to A. D. 34: in which it occurred according to the preceding scale.

Those who may be disposed to require further proof, may be referred to the demonstration of this date, which has been deduced by Dodwell from the lunisolar cycle, used by the Jews in determining the time of their Passover. De. Cycl. diss. ix. §. 27. p. 406. It should be, however, remarked, that the learned author, misled by the account of the miraculous eclipse noticed by Phlegon, has decided in favour of the preceding year, as that in which our Lord suffered: ibid. §. 39. p. 420. And although it must be equally allowed, that the objections of Dr. Sykes to the testimony of Phlegon,—by which Dr. Clarke was induced to cancel the previous notice of the eclipse in his Boyle's Lectures;—have been satisfactorily answered by Whiston, VI. Diss. append. 1. p. 133. seq., yet, while we admit that the fact has been established, so much uncertainty and contradiction prevails respecting the date, as to deprive it of all authority, in determining the present question.

P. 245. l. 2. It appears, not only from the nature of the punishment inflicted upon our Lord, but the express testimony of the sacred writers, that he suffered under the sentence of the

Roman Law: vid. Luke, xxiii. 24. Matt. xxvii. 26. conf. Seld. de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 13. §. 9. p. 347. d. Lightf. on Matt. xxvii. 31. vol. xi. p. 347. c.

Ibid. l. 19. Seld. ibid. c. 13. §. 4. p. 330.

Ibid. l. 30. Id. ibid. §. 5. p. 332.

P. 247. l. 5. Id. ibid. p. 332. 333.

Ibid. l. 16. Id. ibid. c. 15. §. 10. p. 387. c.

Ibid. l. 22. Id. ibid. conf. c. 13. §. 6. p. 333.

P. 248. l. 7. Id. ibid. c. 10. §. 6. p. 275.

P. 249. l. 3. Vid. Philo. Legat. ad Caium. p. 1034. c. conf. n. on p. 204. l. 3.

Ibid. l. 8. In compliance with the desire of the Jewish nation, on the death of Herod; (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 12. p. 611. b.) the kingdom of that monarch, though at first distributed in tetrarchies among his descendants, continued to be gradually annexed to the province of Syria, as the tetrarchs died or were superseded: id. ibid. lib. xviii. c. 1. p. 616. b. c. 6. p. 626. a. Hence Pilate was subject to the President of Syria, as appears from the circumstances under which he was superseded by Vitellius: id. ibid. c. 5. p. 624. b.

Although his government thus appears to have been nothing more than a vice-presidency; he entered it with powers which had not been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. While they possessed the title merely of ἔπαρχος, Prefect, Joseph. ib. c. 3. p. 619. c.: he obtained that of ἡγεμὼν, Governor; id. ibid. c. 4. p. 621. b. Luke, iii. 1.

In the exercise of those powers, he provoked that spirit of resistance, in the people whom he ruled, which terminated in his removal from his government. In consequence of the high *military command* which he held, the standards by which he was preceded were distinguished by the image of the emperor: vid. Pitisc. Lex. vol. ii. p. 513. c. In entering Jerusalem with the insignia of his rank, he gave that offence, which rendered him obnoxious to the native authorities; Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 4. p. 621. c. His complete control over the *fiscal* is equally apparent, in his appropriation of the funds of the treasury to the erection of public works, id. ibid. p. 621. d.; according to the regulation, observed in the ceded tetrarchies, that the money

raised in them should be expended within them; id. ibid. c. 6. p. 626. a. That these were powers, which were not possessed by his predecessors, is obvious from the control which Cyrenius exercised over Coponius; on the reduction of the tetrarchy of Archelaus, to the province of Syria: id. ibid. c. 1. p. 616. a. c. 2. p. 618. g. seq. The powers with which Pilate was vested thus appear to have differed in nothing from those possessed by Vitellius; but that they were exercised in a more limited tract of country, and in subordination to the President of Syria. The difference between their authority was analogous to that which is recognised, among us, between a Governor and Governor General.

P. 249. l. 30. See n. on p. 204. l. 3.

P. 250. l. 3. Phil. ubi supr. p. 1034. d.

Ibid. l. 17. In conveying the sense which is expressed in the text, the Hebrew is limited to the terms רב and המון; the difference between which is nearly analogous to that between the words, *multitude* and *crowd*, in English. The latter signifying properly a sudden and tumultuous meeting; a preference was obviously due to the former, as expressing the multitudes, with which our Lord was usually attended: vid. Matt. v. 1. xiv. 5. xxi. 46. Mark, v. 21. 24. xii. 37. &c. In this sense the term used by Daniel is of frequent recurrence in Scripture: vid. Is. liii. 11. conf. xlvii. 13. Deut. vii. 7. x. 22. 1 Kings, iii. 8. 9. Esth. v. 11. Prov. xiv. 28.

P. 251. l. 5. See n. on p. 204. l. 3.

Ibid. l. 11. Vid. ibid.

P. 252. l. 14. On the extent of our Lord's ministry, as determined by the time of his baptism and crucifixion: see n. on p. 221. l. 8. p. 239. l. 4. As comprised between A. D. 27 and A. D. 34 it consisted precisely of seven years; the prediction being thus fulfilled to the letter, respecting "the strengthening of the covenant with a multitude, for one septenary."

The distinction between the public and private ministry is decidedly marked, not merely by the time of John's imprisonment; but that of Jesus's identifying himself, as the Messiah, by confirming his doctrine *with miracles*; Matt. iv. 12. 13. 17. 23. Euseb. Dem. Evan. lib. viii. p. 400. b. c. Where this distinc-

tion is overlooked, the account of the Evangelists is involved in inexplicable contradiction and confusion: vid. Petav. annot. in Epiphan. vol. ii. p. 207. c. Massuet. diss. præv. in Iren. §. 72. p. cxxxviii. By this test, not only Satan undertook to prove his mission, Matt. ib. 3. seq.; but John was led to acknowledge it, Matt. xi. 2—6. Previously to his giving this proof of it, he had made proselytes to his doctrine; but they did not believe on him, until he had thus "manifested his glory;" John, ii. 11. 23. iv. 43. &c.

The distinction between the private and public ministry of our Lord being thus admitted; the length of the latter is determined by the number of *Passovers* in which he gave this divine proof of his mission, at Jerusalem. These festivals were reduced to three, by the ancients, among whom were Irenæus, Origen, and Epiphanius; but have been extended to five by some of the moderns, among whom are Scaliger and Newton. According to the more generally received opinion, they are supposed to have been *four;* in which view, Eusebius is followed by Petavius, Ussher and Prideaux. The *first* of them is accordingly identified in John, ii. 13: the *second*, ibid. v. 1: the *third*, ibid. vi. 4: the *fourth*, ibid. xii. 12. xiii. 1. xviii. 28: vid. Genev. Annot. in Petav. Rat. Temp. p. [lxxvi.] As they were generally marked by the display of miraculous power: vid. iv. 45. comp. ib. ii. 13. 23. v. 1. 9. vi. 4. 14. xii. 12. 17. 18;—the first was particularly distinguished by our Lord's purification of the Temple from the profane traffic which defiled it, ibid. ii. 13. 14. 15; and the last by his public entry into Jerusalem, amid the hosannas of the multitude: ibid. xii. 12. 13—16. The number of Passovers thus determined, receives confirmation from Daniel: vid. Euseb. ut supr. p. 400. b.: and seems to derive support from our Lord's declaration, Luke, iv. 25. comp. Lightf. vol. xii. p. 70. seq. As the introduction of a fifth Passover argues a deficiency in the enumeration of St. John; who apparently undertook to determine the length of our Lord's ministry by the succession of those festivals: little hesitation can be felt in excluding it from the public ministry of our Lord, as irreconcilable with the views of the Evangelist.

The length of the public ministry being ascertained, that of the private is necessarily determined; as consisting of the antecedent

period, from the time of our Lord's baptism. The difference of character, by which they were marked, is apparent in the practical effect, by which it was attended; John. vii. 40. 41. In the antecedent part, it differed in nothing from St. John's ministry; with which it agreed in partaking of its preparatory nature; ibid. i. 19. 20. 25. 31. The Baptist and our Lord were, in fact, equally received as prophets, ibid. i. 21. vi. 14; and equally admitted proselytes by baptism; ibid. iv. 1. 2. But John worked no miracle, ibid. x. 41, by which our Lord was recognized, ibid. ii. 11. vi. 14. 15, and by which the line of demarcation was drawn between the private and public ministry, ibid. ii. 23. iv. 45,—between the reception of Jesus, as a prophet, and as the Messiah; ibid. vii. 40. 41. In a word, the distinction is admitted, from the first miracle which our Lord was induced to perform; and it explains the terms in which he expressed himself, on the occasion of working it; ibid. ii. 3. 4. As exhibited in a private house, and for the conviction merely of his disciples, it partook of the character of the earlier part of the ministry, during which it was wrought, ibid. 1. 11: it was, notwithstanding, preceded by a declaration, that "the hour was not yet come" for publicly shewing forth, or "*manifesting* his glory." Ibid. 4. 11. conf. 13. 23.

P. 253. l. 6. The term חצי, which the prophet employs, signifies properly the *half* of a whole which is divided into two parts: vid. Exod. xxv. 26. 1 Kings, x. 7. On regarding the last week of the seventy, as the whole which was thus parted, the term may be applied to an event which commenced in the *midst* of it, but cannot with any propriety, be applied to one which occurred at the *end* of it. Yet such virtually is the manner in which it is applied by those, who derive authority from it, for referring the crucifixion to the *close* of the last week of the seventy: see Lightf. works, vol. xi. p. 54. a. Prideaux, indeed, to evade this objection, supposes that "our Saviour caused the oblations and sacrifices of the temple to cease, first, by his preaching the Gospel which *was to* supersede them, and lastly by that great sacrifice of the cross, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever." Connex. vol. ii. p. 421. The manner in which the antecedent part of this exposition is

put sufficiently proves it to be inapplicable to the subject; the original objection consequently returns in the subsequent part, as referring that to the end of the week, which is declared to have preceded it.

The versions, ancient and modern, are generally opposed to such a view of the passage. In the Greek Vulgate accordingly it is rendered; ἢ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς ἑβδομάδος: as likewise in the Latin, with the same sense; 'et in dimidio hebdomadis:' and the Syriac also, as I read it, ܘܦܠܓ ܫܒܥܬܐ ܥܠ, 'et dimidium hebdomadæ.' With a slight deflection of the sense, Cranmer's Bible reads, 'and when the weeke is half gone:' the Spanish of the Jews, coinciding with our English version; 'y medio de la semana;' as also the German of Luther; 'und mitten in der Woche.' De Valera translates more literally; 'la mitad de la semana;' as likewise the Italian of Diodati, 'e nella metà della settimana;' the French of the Protestant Church, 'et à moitié de cette semaine.' Of these versions, as the more literal gives no determinate sense; since it is equally applicable to the *first* or *last* "half," and consequently consecutively to the whole; and as it cannot express the *end* of the week, which the exposition of those who follow the literal rendering requires: it is probably safest, to take the term in the sense of the *halving*, or "middle," in which it appears to have been understood by our translators.

P. 253. l. 14. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 4. p. 621. e. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 789. g. The word *Corban* was used as a general term, signifying any thing divine which was offered: Esgers. in Maimon. de Sicl. c. 2. p. 46. It was thence employed to signify the chamber, or chambers, in the Temple, where the coffers containing the shekels were reposited. Id. ibid. p. 58. The statement of the historian, in declaring that it was seized by Pilate, may be understood, as extending to the whole of the specie preserved in the treasury.

Ibid. l. 19. Maimon. uti supr. c. 4. §. 8. p. 120. et Esger. annot. p. 140. comp. supr. n. in p. 249. l. 8.

Ibid. l. 24. Maimonides, after having described the manner in which the shekels, when collected, were deposited in a chamber of the temple, de Sicl. c. 2. §. 4. p. 36; gives the following account of the use to which they were applied; תרומת הלשכה וגו׳.

"Quid fit cum oblatione conclavis? Sumunt inde *sacrificia* singulis diebus offerenda, et *addititia*, et omnes *oblationes cœtûs*, eorumque *libamina*; et *sal*, quo cunctas oblationes saliunt; atque etiam *ligna* tum, quum non allata sint ligna, et non nisi per nummos comparari possint; et *suffitum*, cum mercede illorum, qui suffitum parant; et *panes facierum*, cum mercede ejus, qui panes facierum facit; et *manipulum*; et *duos panes*; et *vaccam rufam*; et *hircum* emittendum, eum *linguâ* coccineâ, quam ligant inter cornua ejus: hæc omnia veniunt ex oblatione conclavis." Id. ibid. c. 4. §. 1. p. 115. conf. Esgers. Annot. p. 122. seq. The fund having been seized, from which the temple-service was supplied with these necessaries; "the oblation and sacrifice" must have been suspended.

P. 254. l. 5. Seld. d. Synedr. lib. ii. c. 15. §. 10. p. 387. Lightf. vol. xi. p. 309. b.

Ibid. l. 9. The date and circumstances of the abdication of the Sanhedrim, are thus described by Selden: "Migrationis autem ex conclavi illo, seu 'Liskath hagazith,' in Tabernas, seu primæ, tempus collocant *sub annum ante excidium Templi Secundi quadragesimum*. Gemara Babylonia, ארבעים שנה וגו'. 'Quadraginta annis ante excidium Templi, migravit Synedrium et sedes sibi posuit in Tabernis.' Alibi idem, מה' שנה וגו'. 'Quadraginta annis antequam templum excisum est, migravit Synedrium et sedes sibi posuit in Tabernis.' Unde et Moses Cotzensis, מ שנה וגו'. 'Quadraginta annis ante excidium Templi secundi migravit Synedrium è loco suo.' Templi autem excidium illud ad annum attinet Vespasiani secundum, qui Christi septuagesimo respondet, et Augustum mensem. Sub annum igitur Christi trigesimum, fiebat hæc migratio prima." Seld. uti supr. §. 8. p. 382. Conf. Light. uti supr. p. 312.

Ibid. l. 26. It does not appear from the tradition of the Talmudists, at what time of the year the abdication of the Sanhedrim took place. It is, however, obvious, that the year 40, preceding the destruction of the temple, in which it occurred, extended from Tisri 1st, A. D. 30 to Tisri 1st, A. D. 31. Between these dates precisely, the middle year of the last week of the seventy was included; the seven years of which it consisted having extended from Tisri 1st, A. D. 27. to Tisri 1st, A. D. 34.

Whatever, consequently, may have been the time of the year, at which the National Council abdicated; as falling within the limits of that year which was the middle of the last of the seventy weeks, it must have necessarily corresponded with the time foretold by the prophet.

The exact middle of the last of "the seventy weeks," however, corresponded with Nisan 1st (March 14th) A. D. 31. At this time, the payment of the custom, collected throughout Judæa, for the service of the temple, was made into the treasury: Maimon. uti supr. c. 1. §. 9. p. 5. Annot. 34. p. 29. As it cannot be supposed, that any other time would be chosen by Pilate for plundering it, but that in which it was replenished; the time at which he seized and appropriated its contents is sufficiently indicated in the single statement of the fact, that it was so seized and appropriated.

In the account of the tribute money, (Matt. xvii. 24—27.); as describing an incident that occurred subsequently to the third Passover and the Transfiguration, (conf. Matt. ibid. 1. 2. 24. 25. Usser. Annal. pt. ii. p. 577. d. 579. d.) very conclusive evidence exists, that "the custom" which Pilate had appropriated, in "the middle of the last week," continued to be exacted by him, during the latter half of it, and thus occasioned a correspondent cessation of "the sacrifice and oblation." When the narrative of the Evangelist is regarded in such a light; the difficulties disappear, with which the commentators who have undertaken to explain it have been embarrassed. The "custom," which amounted to half a shekel, or didrachm, as intended to provide for the service of the temple, was due by all the inhabitants of Judæa. Maimon. uti supr. c. 1. p. 1. conf. p. 23. n. 26. p. 16. n. 15. But as appropriated by the Roman Governor to secular purposes, it assumed the nature of a "tribute" or census; and as such was not legally due within the tetrarchy of Antipas, where Capernaum was situated: comp. Matt. ibid. 22. 24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 10. p. 611. f. St. Peter naturally answered the inquiries put to him by the Collector, that the Master, as an inhabitant of Judæa, paid the custom: Matt. ibid. 24. 25. But the Master himself, aware of the purpose to which it was applied, by pointing out the distinction between

"sons and strangers," or subjects and aliens, showed, that as living under Antipas, they were free from the impost. Id. ibid. 25. 26. conf. Luke, xxiii. 6. 7. xxii. 59. To avoid the contest, which was likely to be raised, on the justness of the distinction, he notwithstanding took measures for answering the demand; while he employed the occasion to give a proof of his miraculous power. The incident which the Evangelist records is thus clear and consistent in all its circumstances; and, were it not obvious from the choice of his terms, it might be inferred from the calling which he had followed, as a receiver of "the custom," that in relating it, he has employed great precision of language, particularly in distinguishing the different species of money. Comp. Matt. ix. 9. Esgers. in Maimon. uti supr. p. 29. n. 35. 36. 37. 38. p. 16. n. 15. p. 21. n. 35. p. 87. n. 2. Lightf. vol. xi. p. 238. seq.

P. 255. l. 6. The following account is given by Selden of this tradition; referring to the Babylonian Talmud; "Ibi quidem legitur, ארבעים שנה וגו' חר". Tradunt Rabbini nostri; '*Quadraginta annis ante excidium Templi* sors non ascendebat in dexterâ' [Segenis scilicet, seu Pontificis Vicarii in ritu illo Sortium binorum Hircorum, die Expiationum solenni] 'nec lingula' seu 'particula coccini' [ad frontem Hirci apopompæi apponi solita, quæ et veluti sponte ad ostium templi albescere credebatur, velut in signum singulare remissionis peccatorum populi] 'albescebat, nec candela vespertina accendebatur, et Portæ templi sponte sunt apertæ.'" Seld. ut supr. lib. ii. c. 15. §. 8. p. 383. d. See Lightfoot, vol. xi. p. 309. a.: where the tradition is given from the Jerusalem Talmud with some slight variation.

Ibid. l. 11. See n. on p. 253. l. 24.

Ibid. l. 19. Vid. Esgers. in Maimon. uti supr. p. 126. n. 13. 14. Conf. Leidek. Rep. Heb. lib. xi. c. 4. vol. i. p. 632. d.

P. 256. l. 3. Seld. uti supr. lib. ii. c. 15. §. 8. 9. p. 383. seq.

Ibid. l. 6. Seld. uti supr. lib. iii. c. 1. §. 1. p. 7. c. c. 11. §. 1. p. 80. §. 4. p. 103. seq. Conf. Leidek. uti supr. p. 630. seq.

Ibid. l. 12. Until the time, when Vitellius visited Jerusalem, the governor of Judæa retained the pontifical robes in his possession, which were kept under a seal in the tower Antonia: Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 6. p. 624. d. seq. conf. lib. xv. c. 14.

p. 544. d. lib. xx. c. 1. p. 683. c. As the visit of the governor of Syria took place A. D. 36, see n. on p. 239. l. 4: none of the three great festivals, in which they were worn by the High Priest, could be celebrated, during our Lord's ministry, without the permission of Pilate. It is as remarkable, that the Hierarchy should have been thus controlled in the use of them, until "Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us;" as that, after the intervention of a single Passover from that event, they should have again come into the High Priest's possession.

P. 257. l. 1. Leidek. uti supr. lib. ix. c. 3. vol. 1. p. 542. Comp. Lightf. vol. xi. p. 445. a. 240. a.

Ibid. l. 19. Leidek. uti supr. c. 4. §. 2. p. 546. Lightfoot ut supr. p. 445.

P. 258. l. 2. See Lightfoot on Mark, xii. 41. xv. 25. vol. xi. p. 419. d. 444. d. seq. conf. Esgers in Maimon. ut supr. c. 2. §. 2. 3. p. 47. 52. n. 11—18. p. 57. n. 24. 25. 26.

P. 260. l. 27. Our Lord, in offering himself for acceptance as the Messiah, was content merely to give miraculous proof of the character in which he appeared; and which was particularly given by him, before the concourse of people, which was drawn together by the Passover: see n. on p. 252. l. 14. His open confession, that he was the Christ, he reserved to be delivered to the assembled Sanhedrim; on the occasion of being cited before it; Luke, xxii. 66—71. In the declaration, which he there made, on being solemnly adjured to state the truth, he not only asserted that he was the Messiah, but that the Messiah was the Son of God: see Matt. xxvi. 63. Lightfoot, vol. xii. p. 286. a. It is remarkable, that the confession was made in a plain allusion to the prophecies of Daniel: comp. Luke, ibid. 69. Dan. vii. 9.

P. 262. l. 4. The prediction, relative to the cessation of "the oblation and sacrifice" has been generally regarded as fulfilled, in the annulling of their efficacy by the sacrifice of the cross: see n. on p. 253. l. 6. It has been consequently inferred, that *the crucifixion* of the Messiah is included among the events foretold by Daniel. This inference, for it is nothing more, may be supposed to be precluded by the interpretation which I have given to the prophecy; in which the positive cessation of the oblation and sacrifice is supposed to be predicted. The objections to the an-

tecedent view of it, arising from the difficulty of reconciling it with the time foretold, have been already stated; supr. n. on p. 253. l. 6. And a further objection arises from the consideration, that the oblation and sacrifice, which had been suspended, on the secession of the Sanhedrim, A. D. 30; were restored, if not, on their reassembling, when Herod and Pilate were reconciled, A. D. 34: on the visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem, when Pilate was restrained in his oppression, A. D. 36: see n. on p. 256. l. 12. By these objections, the assumption, that the prophet predicts the *suspension* of the oblation and sacrifice, cannot be assailed; an assumption, which is perfectly reconcilable with the supposition, that he implicitly foretells their *abrogation*, by the substitution of the substantial for the shadowy offering. Nor can any objection of moment be urged against this comprehensive view of the subject.

P. 265. l. 19. Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 16. p. 940. g.

Ibid. l. 25. The prophecy of "the abomination of desolation," denounced against Jerusalem, was carried literally into effect by the planting of the standards of the Romans, not only on the battlements of the temple walls, but in the sanctuary, where the altar was placed; while sacrifice was offered before them. Joseph. ut supr. lib. vii. c. 32. p. 962. a.: conf. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 4. p. 621. c. lib. xix. c. vi. p. 675.

Besides the eagles, with which they were ornamented, and which were represented as bearing the thunderbolt of Jove, (Joseph. ut supr. lib. iii. c. 8. p. 838. c.); they contained the images of the gods and emperors, Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. c. Sueton. Calig. c. 14; and received divine honors; Dionys. Antiq. Rom. lib. vi. p. 375. 35. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 39.

Josephus distinguishes those which bore the imperial images, from the sacred standards, conf. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 789. lib. vii. c. 32. p. 962. It may be, therefore, fairly concluded, that to the latter sacrifice was offered, when Titus was hailed emperor by the soldiers, on the fall of the temple. Id. ibid. p. 962. a. On comparing Joseph. ibid. p. 962. lib. vi. c. 916. e. p. 917. b. it will admit of no doubt, that it was offered in the sanctuary. The pagans regarded the Jewish temple as consecrated to the God whom they acknowledged as the Olympian

Jupiter; 2 Maccab. vi. 2. Phil. Leg. ad Caium. p. 1019. b. It had been besides the custom of the Romans to dedicate gifts and send victims, to be offered in propitiation of the divinity to whom it was erected. Id. ibid. p. 1014. e. Joseph. lib. vi. c. 37. p. 940. e. As Titus acknowledged, that he owed his success against the temple to the supreme God: the assertion hazarded in the text will not be deemed unfounded: vid. Joseph. lib. vi. c. 43. p. 967. g. conf. lib. vii. c. 9. p. 948. c. f. lib. vii. c. 10. p. 948. f. g. Noris. Epoch. Syromac. diss. v. p. 541. d. 549. c.

P. 263. l. 3. Vid. Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. i. p. 970. b.

P. 267. l. 3. See n. on p. 180. l. 6. p. 239. l. 4.

Ibid. l. 11. The year of Ezra's return, as formerly determined, occurred B. C. 457. J. P. 4257: see n. on p. 177. l. 30. It is remarkable of this year, that it is coincident with the *first year* of the great Paschal Cycle of 532 years, which the Jews use in determining the time of the Passover: see n. on p. 268. l. 21. This will be evident, on dividing the given year of the Julian Period, by 532, the number of years in that cycle; according to the principle by which that period is resolved into its component cycles: vid. Petav. Rat. Temp. pt. ii. lib. i. c. 8. p. 19. The remainder 1, which is left after division, proves that the first year of the solar, lunar, and sabbatical cycles, which constitute the great Paschal Cycle, then commenced, Petav. ibid. The result is precisely that which would have followed, had that great Cycle been instituted by Ezra, and dated from the epoch of his return to Jerusalem.

It would, however, appear, that the Jews, after their return from Babylon, used a cycle of 84 years, for determining the time of the Passover: an example of which may be found in Petav. Annot. in Epiphan. adv. Hær. tom. ii. p. 166. Noris. Diss. ii. subnex. Epoch. Syromac, p. 382. It might be easily shewn, if my present limits permitted, that this cycle was the product of the genethliacal period of 12 years used by the Chaldees, and the sabbatical of 7 years used by the Jews: see Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 46. n. 165. It is now merely necessary to observe, respecting it, that it was discovered by Cardinal Noris appended to the Fasti Consulares; from whose edition of it, we discover, that the epoch of the *first cycle* was coincident with

U. C. 295. Poplicolà et Sabino Coss. J. P. 4255, and that of the *sixth cycle* with U. C. 715. Censorino et Sabino Coss J. P. 4675: vid. Noris. Diss. i. p. 4. 16. 138. Of the former date, it is remarkable, that it coincides with the *7th year of Artaxerxes*, as computed from the Astronomical Canon; in which the accession of that monarch is placed, J. P. 4249: see n. on p. 177. l. 30. In this year the return from Babylon is fixed by Ezra himself: see n. on p. 180. l. 6.

On the imperfection of the Canon, in determining the exact time of Artaxerxes' accession, I have already remarked; and it appears, from the internal evidence of the Paschal Cycle of 84 years, that it was accommodated, at a late period, to the Roman year, in such a manner, that *its new year's day* should coincide with *Sat. Jan. 1st:* vid. Noris. ibid. p. 36. a. 94. b. c. It is further observable, that a similar innovation was made by the Jews, in their paschal cycles, in consequence of their imperfection in equating the lunar motions. Besides the two different reformations, of them, noticed by Scaliger, Emen. Temp. lib. v. p. 261; an intermediate reformation has been elicited by J. Cappel; see n. on p. 268. l. 21: the epoch of which as referred by him to J. P. 4677, furnishes a clue to determine the commencement of the ancient Paschal Cycle. If we take 5 cycles, or 420 years, in ascent, from that epoch, (as $84 \times 5 = 420$): we arrive at J. P. 4257. B. C. 457. the identical year which has been determined, as the epoch of the return of the Jews from Babylon, under Ezra; from whence the "seventy weeks" of Daniel are computed.

By several chronological characters, this year appears to be identified, as the proper epoch of the original Paschal Cycle, as deduced from the time of Ezra. It commences with the first year of the succession of the sabbatical periods, deduced from J. P. 3221, supr. n. on p. 31. l. 2: which is an essential condition of every cycle into which it enters as a component. The same observation may be extended to the genethliacal cycle, as deduced from J. P. 2481, as ascertained on the capture of Babylon, by Alexander. Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 40. conf. p. 46. Its neomenia, as ascertained from the apparent autumnal new-moon, coincided with *Sat. Tisri 1st:* in conformity to the principle on which, as we have observed, it was

reformed, when subsequently accommodated to the Roman calendar. For, the true conjunction having occurred at Jerusalem on Wednes. Sept. 18th at 11. A. M.: the crescent was visible on the evening preceding the Sabbath; from the appearance of which moon the Jews reckoned the commencement of the new-year. All the chronological characters, which can be conceived to have met in the epoch of this early Paschal Cycle, are thus found to concur in identifying it with the year of Ezra's return from Babylon.

P. 268. l. 11. See n. on p. 277. l. 9.

Ibid. l. 21. Des-Vignolles, in referring to the foundation of the kingdom of Herod as placed by Scaliger; J. P. 4677, Emend. Temp. lib. v. p. 375. a.: adds the following observations; "Mais voici une remarque de Jacques Cappel, qui convaincra, ce me semble, que l'ere commune des Juifs, ou fut inventée alors, ou fut réglée sur cette année-là: 'Cur,' dit-il, 'ab hoc anno' (Ante Dn. 3761) Computi Judaici metæ arcessantur, nisi me fallit animus, causa hæc est: Lunæ Cyclus annorum 19. per Cyclum Solis annorum 28. multiplicatus dat annos 532.' (C'est la Période Dionysienne) 'qui per septem multiplicati conficiunt annos 3724. Ideo magna periodus Judaica est annorum 3724.' Le fond de la remarque est d'un Rabbin, cité dans la Chronologie de David Ganz: à cela près, que par un anachronisme digne d'un Juif, il rapporte à la naissance de J. C. ce qui regarde certainement *la* 1re *année d'Hérode:* 'Anno 3724,' dit-il, 'Nazaræus captus est, et anno 532. cruci affixus est, hoc est 3724. et 532. unus computus est, quia numerus 532 est unus ex revolutionibus vel cyclis; in omnibus enim 532. annis continetur cyclus magnus et parvus: ex vicies octo enim novendecim exsurgit 532. et annus 3724. continetur in 532.' Ceci est apparamment mal traduit; car c'est le contraire: mais on entend assez la pensée de l'auteur. Jacques Cappel continue: 'Totidem præcisè annis antiquior est Judaica mundi æra anno, quo Herodes Hierosolyma cepit.....A sequente Nisan inchoavit Computista, et Josephus historicus Herodis æram simul, et primum annum secundæ Periodi Judaicæ....Hinc colligo, Judaicum Computum Herodis tempore conditum.' On ne peut rien voire de plus juste, que cette remarque." Chron. tom. i. p. 741. d.

It may be mentioned, as a remarkable coincidence, that the year preceding the epoch, thus determined, was distinguished by the consulate of Pollio, which produced the fourth eclogue of Virgil, celebrating the time of a Great Restitution: see Noris. Diss. i. ad Fast. Cons. p. 16. The imagery of the pastoral is not merely oriental, but bears a striking resemblance to the prophetical, describing the kingdom of an expected Messiah. As Herod was at Rome, this year, where he was designated king by the Senate; the source whence the poet derived his information may be easily conjectured. The desired personage, whose birth he celebrates, however mistaken by the commentators, was the posthumous offspring of Marcellus by Octavia, the sister of Augustus; who was at the time married to Mark Antony: vid. Noris. Cenot. Pisan. diss. ii. c. 6. p. 128. 130. Herod is described, by Josephus, as proceeding, this year, to the Capitol, between the great rivals whom this alliance was intended to reconcile. Antiq. lib. i. c. 11. p. 734. b.

Ibid. l. 23. Bucholcer, in citing instances of remarkable events, which occurred, at the distance from each other, of the Pascal Cycle of 532 years, includes the following: "A migratione Esdræ ad dedicatum Romæ Templum Pacis." Isagog. p. 126. This temple, which was among the most splendid of the buildings in Rome, was erected by Vespasian, after his Jewish triumph; and had the spoils of the temple of Jerusalem deposited in it: Sueton. Vespas. cap. 9. Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 19. p. 979. g. 980. a. cf. c. 18. p. 979. c. It has been supposed, he was induced to undertake this work, at the suggestion of Josephus; who regarded his successes in Judæa, as foretold by the prophets, and who predicted his succession to the empire. Id. ib. lib. vi. c. 31. p. 961. g. lib. iii. c. 27. p. 854. c.

The dedication of the temple of Peace is referred by chronologists to A. D. 76. J. P. 4789, Helvic. Tab. Chron. p. 86. c.: of which year it is remarkable, that in it the characters ascribed to that B. C. 457. J. P. 4257. were restored: from which it is precisely distant the Great Paschal Cycle: see a. on p. 267. l. 11. At the earlier date, as has been already intimated, the sacred vessels were deposited in the temple of Jerusalem by Ezra; at the later, they were deposited in the Roman temple by Vespa-

sian: to which event the highest importance was annexed: see n. on p. 174. l. 23. As these great cycles were supposed to bring about a restitution in their revolution, see Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 34. seq.; it would appear, from the purpose intended by Vespasian, in the erection of the latter temple, and the time chosen by him for the dedication of it; that it was his object to appropriate to himself the promise given of a future monarch, whose dominion would be distinguished as pacific: vid. Sueton. Vespas. c. 4. et 8. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 13. In his vain appropriation of the prophetical character, he was betrayed, at the instigation of his servile followers, into the profane mockery of attempting to work miracles: Tacit. ibid. lib. iv. c. 81.

## LECTURE XI.

P. 273. l. 16. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 31. Iren. adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 178.

Ibid. l. 28. Id. ibid. lib. v. c. 30. p. 330. Euseb. ut supr. lib. iii. c. 27. Epiphan. adv. Hær. vol. ii. p. 213. b.

P. 274. l. 25. See n. on p. 150. l. 3. comp. n. on p. 62. l. 5.

P. 275. l. 18. See p. 150. seq.

P. 276. l. 5. See p. 155. seq.

Ibid. l. 10. See n. on p. 59. l. 5.

Ibid. l. 16. See Treat. on Millen. p. 31. seq.

Ibid. l. 24. Vid. ibid. p. 47. seq.

P. 277. l. 9. Vid. Noris. de Epoch. Syromaced. Diss. ii. c. 1. p. 69. d. c. 2. p. 79. a. Diss. iii. c. 3. p. 156. a. &c.

Ibid. l. 15. Id. ibid. Diss. i. c. 1. p. 70. e. Cramer. Theol. Israel. pt. i. lib. ii. c. 1. §. 5. 6. p. 209.

Ibid. l. 25. See p. 155. Comp. n. on p. 59. l. 5.

P. 278. l. 23. See Newt. on Proph. Diss. xxiv. c. 14. vol. ii. p. 319. Treat. on Millen. p. 32.

P. 280. l. 4. Vid. Wetst. N. T. n. in Rev. xiii. 18. comp. Treat. on Millen. p. 191. n. 450.

Ibid. l. 23. The Gnostics, who were descended from the school of Simon Magus, and who had begun to pervert the Apostolical doctrines, in the age of the Evangelist (Iren. adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 11. §. 1.), indulged to a ridiculous excess in these puerilities: vid. Inq. into Integr. of Gr. Vulg. p. 268. n. 222. conf. Voss. de Idol. lib. i. c. 8. p. 33. Coteler. in Clement. lib. vi. c. 6. Patr. Apost. tom. i. p. 673. Brucker. Hist. Phil. vol. ii. p. 974. Beausob. Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 50. seq. By particular terms which were involved in cabalistic obscurity, the professors of these doctrines recognised each other, as by a private symbol or countersign: see Treat. on Millen. p. 105. 190.

P. 281. l. 10. Vid. supr. p. 152. and Treat. on Millen. p. 36.

Ibid. l. 15. Usser. Annal. pt. ii. p. 699. comp. Treat. on Millen. p. 47.

Ibid. l. 18. Vid. supr. p. 152.

P. 282. l. 2. See Treat. on Millen. p. 6. Newton on Proph. Diss. xxv. vol. ii. p. 373.

P. 283. l. 23. Newt. ibid. Diss. xiv. vol. i. p. 279. 288.

P. 284. l. 5. Id. ibid. Diss. xxv. vol. ii. p. 324. 344. 351. 354.

Ibid. l. 16. Id. ibid. p. 310. seq.

P. 285. l. 23. See n. on p. 153. l. 12.

Ibid. l. 27. See n. on p. 155. l. 23.

P. 286. l. 3. The character of this period is summed up in the following terms by Platina, in his life of Gregory III. who came to the Popedom A. D. 731. "Subito che egli prese il Ponteficato, con consentimento del clero di Roma privò l'Imperatore Leone dell' Imperio, e della communione de' fedeli, per haver tolto dalle Chiese le imagini de' santi, e fatte spezzar le loro statue, e per seguire la opinione de gli heretici sopra la consubstantialità del figliuolo col padre." Hist. delle vite dei Pontif. fol. 81. rev. In describing, in continuation, the subversion of the last of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman Empire was divided; he brings confirmation to the prophecy which had intimated, that the establishment of the kingdom of Antichrist would be preceded by their dissolution. "I Saraceni domti da tante rotte dentre del Pireneo si ritennero. Il perche tutti quei Visigoti c'havevano la Spagna citeriore con una parte della Gallia occupata, vedendosi abbandonati in potere di Carlo ne andarono. E così i Gothi, che

quasi 300 anni signoreggiato havevano, quasi furono del tutto estinti, fuori alcuni pochi, che furon da Barzellonesi salvati." Id. ibid.

P. 286. l. 11. The foundation of the kingdom of Italy was laid A. D. 486. by the victories of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, over Momillus Augustulus; by whose fall an end was put to the Western Empire. The power of the conqueror soon declined before Theodoric, who descended A. D. 489, from the north of Europe with his victorious hordes, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of the Goths A. D. 493. Murator. Antiq. Ital. tom. i. Diss. i. p. 14. d. A law was enacted by Odoacer, that no Pope should be chosen without the consent of the kings of Italy. It was acted upon by his Gothic successors; Felix was accordingly made Pope by Theodoric A. D. 526: and in 531, Pope John II. gave a sum of money to the Gothic king to have his election confirmed.

Ibid. l. 15. The kingdom of the Goths ended A. D. 553. with Totila, who was slain by Narses, and the Gothic race expelled Italy. The Exarchate was consequently established A. D. 557. by the conqueror; who fixed the seat of government at Ravenna. Under these vicegerents, who owed allegiance to the Greek Emperor, the Popes frequently purchased their confirmation by a sum of money. The submission which was paid by them to the Emperor appears from the mandate of Justinian to P. Constantine; who accordingly repaired to Constantinople, attended by several ecclesiastics: vid. Anastas. Vit. Pontif. p. 64. d.

Ibid. l. 19. Before the beginning of the eighth century, the Popes had acquired no territory in Europe. Platina, indeed, under a sense that it was dangerous to call their extravagant claims in question, delivers himself with a prudent hesitation upon the subject. In his account of John VII. who was raised to the Pontificate A. D. 705. he observes; " Si scrive ma senza il nome dell' autore, che Arithperto Re de' Longobardi, mosso da religione, donasse alla Chiesa Romana le Alpi Cottie, con quanto è da Turino fino à Genoua. Altri dicono, che quella donatione fosse da Arithperto confermata. Ma non ritrovandosi della donatione cosa certa, è vanità ragionare di confermatione." Histor. ut supr. p. fol. 77. rev. But Anastasius, who wrote under no

such apprehension, delivers himself in terms less equivocal. "Hujus temporibus Aripertus Rex Longobardorum donationem Patrimonii Alpium Cottiarum, quæ longa per tempora a jure Ecclesiæ privata fuerat, ac ab eâdem gente detinebatur, in literis aureis exaratam, jure proprio beati Apostolorum Principis Petri reformavit." Vit. Pontif. fol. 63. conf. Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 28. Before the Pope had become a temporal prince, by the acquisition of these territories, the prophetical character, which is represented under the emblem of "a little horn," was not appropriated: see Newt. on Proph. vol. i. p. 288. seq.

The fate of the Exarchate, until its final annexation to the patrimony of "the Church," is detailed in the following terms, by a learned antiquary. "Tempore tantùm Liutprandi regis, renovato acriter bello, Ravennam ipsam cum aliis Exarchatûs urbibus Langobardi sibi subdiderunt....Pippinus exindè Francorum Rex ad preces Stephani II. Papæ Italiam ingressus, Aystulphum regem ad restituenda Romano Imperio ablata adegit. Promissis non stetit Aystulphus: quare Pippinus in Italiam regressus vi armorum Langobardos fidem solvere coegit, ipsumque Exarchatum non ampliùs Græco Augusto restituit, sed Apostolicæ Sedi dono dedit. Quùm vero Provinciam illam iterum Deciderius rex invasisset, non eam solùm recuperavit Carolus Magnus, sed Desiderium ex ipso quoque Regno Langobardorum dejecit." Murator. Antiq. Ital. tom. ii. diss. ii. p. 64. d. After stating the series of events, he proceeds to determine the boundary of the Exarchate, as bestowed on St. Peter, referring to the will of Charlemagne.

The appropriation of the Exarchate by the Pope, and the bounds which were ascribed to it, are collected from Agnellus, a presbyter of Ravenna, by Murator. Antiq. Ital. diss. ii. tom. ii. p. 65. b.: referring to Rer. Ital. tom. ii. pt. i. p. 161. and Anastas. Vit. P. Stephan. On Agnellus, vid. Antiq. Ital. tom. i. p. 43. n. k.

P. 286. l. 26. See n. on p. 155. l. 33.

P. 287. l. 8. See n. on p. 153. l. 12.

Ibid. l. 16. The grounds of that good understanding, between the founders of the kingdom of the Franks and the Pontiffs of Rome, which favored their mutual usurpations, are thus stated

by Eginhart; the chancellor and biographer of the first of the Carlovingian race, who ascended the imperial throne: "Gens Merovingorum, de quâ Franci Regis sibi creare solite erant, usque in Hildericum Regem, qui jussu Stephani, Rom. Pontificis depositus ac detonsus, atque in monasterium trusus est." Vit. Carol. Magn. c. 1. p. 9. ed. Traj. ad Rhen. 1711.

On the intrigues of the Romish See, which led to the final alienation of the Exarchate from the Emperor, and the elevation of the Pope to a temporal sovereign, considerable light is shed by an ancient Chronicle quoted by Muratori. Speaking of the "Imperial messengers, George and John," and "the messenger of the Apostolical See," who proceeded to Marseilles to meet Pipin, then engaged in an expedition against the Langobard king: it enters into the following details. "Itaque unus ex ipsis Georgus nomine prænominatum Francorum assecutus est Regem, [Pipinum] quem et in finibus Langobardorum non procul a Papiâ reperit civitate, et nimis eum deprecans, atque plura spondens tribuit imperialia munera, ut Ravennatium urbem et cæteras ejusdem Exarchatûs civitates et castra ad imperialem tribuens concederet ditionem. Rex Francorum taliter dedit responsum: 'Quomodo talia alienare potero, cùm non pro aliâ re quàm pro Sancto Petro certamen gesserim?'" Murator. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. ii. p. 177. a. The author is said by Muratori to have adopted this account from Anastasius' life of P. Stephen III. of Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. iii. p. 171. a. I rather think that Anastasius is the borrower; whose account of this meeting is as follows: "Itaque unus ex ipsis, Gregorius [al. Georgus], videlicet Protosecreta præcedens Apostolicæ Sedis Missum celeriter prænominatum Francorum assecutus est Regem; quem et in finibus Longobardorum non procul à Papia reperit civitate: et nimis eum deprecans, atque plura spondens tribui imperialia munera, ut Ravennatium urbem, vel cæteras ejusdem Exarchatûs civitates, et castra imperiali tribuens concederet ditioni. At nequaquam valuit firmissimum jam fati Christianissimi, atque benignissimi fidelis Dei et amatoris B. Petri Apostoli, scilicet antefati Pipini Francorum regis cor, ut easdem civitates, et loca imperiali tribueret ditioni. Asserens isdem Dei cultor, mitissimus rex, nullâ penitus ratione easdem civitates a potestate B.

Petri, et jure Ecclesiæ Romanæ, vel Pontificis Apostolicæ Sedis quoquomodo alienari. Affirmans etiam sub juramento, quòd per nullius hominis favorem sese certamini sæpiùs dedisset, nisi pro amore B. Petri et veniâ delictorum : asserens et hoc, quod nulla eum thesauri copia suadere valeret, ut quod semel P. Petro obtulit auferret. Et hæc prædicto Imper. Misso reddens in responsis, continuò eum ad propria remeandum per aliam viam absolvit, qui et sine effectu Romam conjunxit." Anon. Salern. Chron. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 177. a.

P. 287. l. 20. To the partition of the Western Empire between the Emperor and Pope, the following extract from an ancient chronicle forms no inapt introduction. " De hâc divisione Imperii sic ait Vincentius: Carolus autem pro Republicâ pugnans, tandem in ultimis vitæ suæ terminis Imperii nomen assumpsit, ut qui Romani Imperii defensor extiterat pro tantis meritis acciperet nomen Augusti, et inter celestes milites fortissimus prædicaretur. Ex tunc ergò apud Latinos Græcorum potentia terminata est, nullique Roma magis infesta quàm Imperatori suo, dum duos dominos habere contendit, et inter Pontificem et Imperium [f. Imperatorem] posita, alterum excludit, alterum contemnit. Anno ergo Domini 801, cùm apud Græcos nomen Imperatoris mutaretur, Carolus Romæ morem faciens accepit a Leone Papa, et omni Populo Romano decretum, ut Carolus nomen Imperatoris indueret et Augusti ; eò quòd Romani Imperatores olim in Urbe Romanâ sedem habuissent. Ex eo igitur tempore Imperio Græcorum apud Occidentem evanescente, nomen rediit Imperatoris ad quasdam partes Occidentis. Ex quo quædam Romani Imperii facta est confusio, de duobus nominibus unum tenentibus; divisio enim minuit potestatem, et sicut a solo Deo Græcorum dependet Imperium, ita à Sede tantùm Romanâ Papa affirmat Imperium Occidentis pendere. Apud Principes quidem Alemaniæ Imperatorum est electio, apud Papam confirmatio et consecratio. Novâ discretione Imperator nominatur ut Dominus, consecratur ut nomen Dominus. Nempe Imperialia non accipit insignia, quæ sibi soli collata Papa conservat. Ad altare modicum in latere Basilicæ S. Petri consecratur à solo Papâ; cùm è diverso Papa Imperatoris insignia in sui consecratione teneat et ad altare majus S. Petri accipiet unc-

tionem." Dand. Chron. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xii. p. 151. b.

The respective limits of the power which the Civil and Ecclesiastical rulers of the West thus conspired in usurping, are defined in the "Decretum Concilii Ticinensis," published by Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 150. and partly in Antiq. Ital. tom. i. pt. i. p. 83.

P. 287. l. 25. See n. on p. 155. l. 33. The result of the iconoclast controversy, in effecting the extinction of the Emperor's authority in Europe, is thus stated by F. Petau; as deduced by him from Theophanes, P. Diaconus, Anastasius, Zonaras. "Itaque triennio pòst contra venerandas imagines edictum ferale proposuit [Leo] Indict. 13. Januarii 7. feriâ 7. hoc est, Anno Christi 730..... Complures antiquæ tenaces fidei, variis à Tyranno cruciatibus ac pœnis affecti, gloriosos exitus habuerunt. Hanc Leonis insaniam Gregorius II. Romanus Pontifex, cùm per literas cohibere non potuisset, de Concilii Romani sententiâ Imperatorem, ejusque contactos hæresi subjecit anathemati: ac Romam, et quicquid Italiæ reliquum erat, à Græcorum abstraxit imperio, tributaque pendere iis ultrà prohibuit." Rat. Temp. pt. i. lib. viii. c. 5. p. 326.

P. 288. l. 1. See n. on p. 153. l. 12.

Ibid. l. 21. Several notices of this Council, assembled under Gregory III., appear in the ancient Chronicles. The following account is by an ancient annalist, who, from his exalted station, possessed access to the best sources of information. "Papa Gregorius Synodum DCCCII Episcoporum Romæ congregavit, ubi veneratio imaginum sanctorum confirmatur, et violatores anathematizantur. Huic Synodo Antonius Patriarcha cum Episcopis Venetiæ et Istriæ, suffraganeis suis, per literas papales admonitus, personaliter adfuit, et inconcussam fidem tenens quod gestum est comprobavit." Andr. Dandul. Chron. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xii. p. 136. c. To the same purpose, Richardus Cluniacensis delivers himself, on the object of the Pope, by whom this Council was assembled. "Gregorius natione Syrus sedit annos x. menses viii. dies xxiv. Hic excommunicavit Leonem Imperatorem, qui sacras imagines destruere nitebatur; et totam Italiam ab illius imperio, tamquam a sacrilego recedere

fecit." Chron. ap. Murator. Antiq. tom. iv. p. 1108. c. Conf. Bergom. Supplem. Chron. ad. A. D. 732. fol. 246. vers. The time at which this Council appears to have closed its deliberations is determined in Treat. on Millen. p. 52. 54. From the order of events in the Chronicle first-cited, it seems to have directly preceded A. D. 737 : vid. Andr. Dandul. Chron. ibid. This Council is not, indeed, noticed by Muratori in his Annal. d'Ital. tom. iv. p. 221. But he quotes a letter, preserved by the author of the Chronicle, which was addressed by Pope Gregory II. to Ursus Duke of Venice; and which illustrates the authenticity of the sources from which that writer derived his information : Rer. Ital. Script. ut supr. p. 135. a. It describes the reduction of the capital of the Exarchate, by the Longobards; and recommends Ursus to undertake its recovery, and restoration to the Emperor, its rightful sovereign.

P. 289. l. 12. The petty state of the Popedom, which prophecy had designated under the emblem of " a little horn," was to derive its temporal aggrandisement from the destruction of those states. Dan. vii. 8. 20. 24. comp. Newton on Proph. diss. xiv. p. 281. seq. The extirpation of the Goths, before whom the power of Imperial Rome had sunk, and who held a distinguished rank, among the ten kingdoms into which those territories were distributed, is referred, to the time at which the Council was assembled by Gregory III. at Rome, in the ancient Chronicles: vid. Bergom. Supplem. Chron. fol. 246. Treat. on Millen. p. 53. n. 112.

P. 290. l. 8. See n. on p. 287. l. 20. The following extracts from the Council of Ticinum, will serve to illustrate the manner in which the encroaching usurpation of the Pope and Emperor has been mutually recognised; which ended in the subversion of civil and religious liberty throughout Europe. " Ut honor Domino et Spiritali Patri nostro Joanni Summo Pontifici et universali Papæ ab omnibus conservetur; et quæ secundum sacrum ministerium suum auctoritate apostolicâ decreverit, cum summâ veneratione ab omnibus suscipiantur, et debita illi obedientia in omnibus conservetur." Conc. Ticinens. cap. ii. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 152. c. " Ut Imperialis honor ab omnibus fideliter observetur; et quæ ab eo seu per epistolam, seu per legatos præcipiuntur, à nullo impunè audeant violari." Ibid. c. v. ap. eund. ibid. p. 153. b.

P. 291. l. 4. Vid. Usser. de Stat. et Success. Eccles. p. 260. seq. Clarke's Martyrol. p. 83. 86. 113. c.

Ibid. l. 24. See Treat. on Millen. p. 72. seq.

P. 293. l. 15. The opinion advanced in the text, on "the two witnesses," will derive confirmation and support, from a comparison with the notions which have been maintained respecting them, by the commentators on the Apocalypse; who have variously identified them with the two Testaments,—the Law and the Gospel —Enoch and Elias,—Moses and Elias, &c.: see Wolf. Cur. in Apoc. xi. 3. vol. v. p. 525. Analogies are discoverable, in the case of Daniel and St. John, which extend to none of those instances. The general resemblance in their predictions has been often observed; but in none of them is it more striking, than in that which defines the time, for which those witnesses will prophesy against Antichrist: see Newton, ut supr. vol. ii. p. 411. a. To this characteristic mark, by which they seem to be determined, may be probably added the promise given specifically to both. Dan. xii. 13. John, xxi. 22. 23.

P. 294. l. 25. See Serm. on Oper. of Holy Ghost. p. 403. seq.

P. 298. l. 31. See Butler. Anal. pt. ii. ch. 2. p. 190.

## LECTURE XII.

P. 301. l. 15. See Butler. Anal. pt. ii. ch. 3. p. 177. ch. 6. p. 228.

P. 304. l. 9. The annexed description of this happy state, as deduced from the prophets, is offered in the words of a writer, who attained, in his day, to considerable reputation, in one of the most celebrated of our seats of learning. As it is regarded by him, rather as a temporal, than a spiritual state; his justification, in the particular view which he has taken of it, must be sought in the authority from whence it is professedly deduced. "It is observable, that when St. Peter foretels the fiery indignation, which will consume the world and its inhabitants, and the suc-

cession of a new heavens and a new earth, that will rise out of the ashes of the old, he expressly refers to 'the words which were spoken before *by the Holy Prophets.*' Here then we have an infallible interpretation of those prophecies to which he evidently refers; for in this case the same Spirit which gave the prophecies is the interpreter of them. They are to be found in several of the Prophets, but chiefly in Isaiah; and if you strip the language of its metaphorical and ornamental dress, the plain sense and import of them has been truly represented to be this:—'That the Kingdom of Christ, a Kingdom of eternal duration, shall be established and flourish universally in righteousness and happiness, and that then the ferocity of man's nature shall be softened, and its passions subdued; that mutual violence and contention shall cease, and the world exhibit an uninterrupted scene of peace, harmony, and joy;—and that the earth shall yield her supplies and furnish every innocent gratification in a constant and uniform abundance,—and that mankind shall pass through a length of days, in a state of plenty, ease and splendor, and partake of every blessing that can exalt the mind or gratify the heart.'" Tottie's Serm. xv. p. 307.

This view of the subject, it is not to be dissembled, derives confirmation from the nature of the Jewish festivals; as described, not only by the modern but the ancient Jews, who profess to derive their notions from Scripture: see Deut. xvi. 11. 14. Nehem. viii. 9. 10. 1 Esdr. iv. 62. 63. Leusd. Philol. Hebræomixt. diss. 35. p. 237. diss. 41. p. 288. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. lib. ix. c. 2. p. 539. a. c. 3. p. 542. Philo. Jud. de Sept. et Fest. §. 1. p. 1174. c. seq. Plut. ut supr. n. to p. 123. l. 24.

P. 304. l. 28. The objections which have been raised to the acceptance of the phrase, "a thousand years," in a definite sense, are scarcely deserving of consideration. In the passages on which the doctrine of the Millennium is founded, if it is not to be understood as meaning what is expressed; it cannot be inferred, that the numeral is used with a definite meaning, by any writer, in any language.

It must be a strangely constructed period, in which the difference between the *indefinite* and *definite* use of the term, will not be apparent, on a bare inspection of the context. The reference

to an example, or two, will abundantly confirm this position. Thus, there can be as little room for doubt, that it is of the former description in Deut. i. 11. 1 Chron. xvi. 15. Ps. xc. 4. xci. 7: as that it is of the latter in Rev. xx. 3. xvii. 7. 2 Tim. iv. 7. The phrase ἄχρι τελεσθῇ, Rev. xx. 3, added by the Evangelist, can have no object but to convert the term, from indefinite into *definite*. Can it be necessary to observe, that the verb τελέω, as derived from τέλος, *finis*, signifies 'to finish;' and is accordingly rendered in the lexicons, "finio, finem facio, ad finem perduco." Schleusn. in voc.? I am curious to learn, by what figure of speech, but pure nonsense, it can be said, that "a thousand" or any other number of years "are finished," when the object is to express a term which is vague and indeterminate.

Were not the question thus capable of being decided on purely philological grounds: it might be determined from the circumstances of the case, and the usage of the Hebrew writers. From the distribution of the course of time into periods of 1000 years, the seventh of which is intended to form a Great Sabbath; it follows, by natural inference, that the last is of the same description, and consequently of the same length, as the six preceding. The inference follows equally from the custom and language of the Jews; by whom the course of time is similarly distributed. Of the seven periods, into which they conceive it divided, it admits of no doubt, that each was considered a proper millennium. To suppose, that St. John, in addressing himself to Jews, while he conformed to their views, and adopted their language, should have employed that term in an indefinite sense, which they used in a definite, would be to impute to him the deliberate intention of writing only to mislead them: vid. Burnet. Digress. de Stat. Jud. subn. Tract. de Stat. Mort. c. 9. p. 260.

P. 306. l. 15. Vid. supr. p. 152. 284.

Ibid. l. 21. The computation, in which it is assumed, that 4000 years intervened between the Creation and the Nativity, is founded on the Hebrew system of chronology, as digested by Abp. Ussher. On the character of his immortal work, I have already expressed myself: supr. n. on p. 29. l. 23. The essential difference between his system, and that of Scaliger, is disposed of, and the former established on demonstrable principles: see

Trans. of R. S. L. vol. iii. p. i. p. 20—28. conf. Usser. Annal. p. 6. b. Simson, Chron. pt. i. p. 21.

No reasonable objection can be urged against the system of ancient chronology, as established by these celebrated scholars, from the differences which exist between them and the rival system of the Septuagint. Had not the principles been detected on which its scheme of chronology has been systematically corrupted, its pretensions might be annihilated from a single consideration. The authors of the version, as translators, might have conceived themselves authorised to render the original terms, which they deemed equivocal in expressing the course of time, according to their notions of the rate of its progress. In taking this licence, they cannot be accused of deliberate falsification: and thus the integrity of the text and versions,—the honesty of the transcribers of the former and the translators of the latter,—are equally unimpeachable. But, on the assumption, that the original Hebrew has been altered; what palliation can be offered for the criminality of the transcribers by whom it was corrupted? And admitting the Greek version to be correct; what end could have been answered by the change of the Hebrew numbers, while the alteration militated against the prejudices of the perpetrators, in lowering their pretensions to a high antiquity? If it must be allowed, that the *original* has been thus falsified; what authority is left to the *translation;* on the credit of which it is exclusively impeached as having been corrupted? What dependance, in fact, can be placed on a transcript, made from an original, which the alteration of its dates proves to be grossly and systematically falsified? In a word, what respect is due to a hypothesis, which proceeds on an assumption thus absurd and contradictory: that the *translation* must be received as *correct*, while the *original* from which it is derived, is rejected as *corrupted?*

P. 307. l. 8. Vid. Phil. Jud. de Septen. et Fest. p. 1183. b. R. D. Kimchi. in Ps. xix. 8.

Ibid. l. 12. Dr. Burnet, who first drew the attention of our divines to the prophecy of Elias, respecting the duration of the world for 6000 years, Theor. of Earth. b. c. c. 3; refers, for the history of the prophecy, to Gerard. tom. 9. de extrem. Jud. p. 127. The authorities of the Talmud and Rabbins, respecting it,

may be seen in Newton on Proph. vol. ii. p. 373. after Mede, Placit. Hebr. de die Judic. b. v. c. 3. p. 892 seq. The substance of the prediction is thus given by Leusden; "In Talmude Tractatu Sanhedrim, cap. xi. recitatur prophetia alicujus Eliæ, qui dixit mundum duraturum esse 6000. annis, &c. ששת אלפים שנה חיו עלמא שני אלפים תוהו שני אלפים תורה שני אלפים ימות חמשיח 'Sex mille annis durabit mundus. Bis mille annis erit Inanitas (h.e. sine Lege) Bis mille annis Lex (scil. Mosaica) Bis mille annis dies Messiæ." Philol. Hebræomixt. diss. xv. p. 108. The early Jews were, however, accustomed to contrast the two Covenants, as the unwritten, and written Law. This distinction is acknowledged in scripture, under the titles of the carnal and spiritual *circumcision:* by which they were entered, as the rite of initiation: see Treat. on Millen. p. 22.

P. 308. l. 10. It has been already proved, in n. on p. 31. l. 5, that, in the year B. C. 1922, Abram was 75 years old. On ascending so many years above that time; we arrive at the year of his birth, which consequently occurred B. C. 1997. But from the error of 4 years, in the date of the Christian era; this year preceded the true time of the Nativity 1993 years. There is, consequently, a deficiency of 7 years, to complete the interval of 2000 years, between the birth of Abram and Christ. Of the years thus wanting to effect the exact distribution of the course of time into millenniums, an account is given in the Treat. on the Millen. p. 25.

The deficiency may be, however, supplied, without essentially affecting the system of sacred chronology; by allowing 12 years, instead of 5, for the time of Isaac's nonage, on the renewal of the promise to Abraham: vid. supr. n. on p. 31. l. 27. The custom of the Jews leaves the choice between those terms undecided; for according to the observations of St. Jerome, "Inter Hebræos autem varia opinio est, asserrentibus aliis *quinto anno* Ablactationis tempus statutum, aliis *duodecimum annum* vindicantibus." Trad. Hebr. in Genes. If we therefore assume the date of the Exodus, B. C. 1492, as a basis; and taking 100 years, for the age of Abraham, at the birth of Isaac, Gen. xvii. 1. 17, 12 for the nonage of the latter, ut supr., and 400 from the expiration of that time to the departure from Egypt, Gen. xv.

13: on adding the sum, amounting to 512 years, the remainder will give, in the year B. C. 2004, the date of the birth of Abraham, which, from the error of four years, in the vulgar Christian era, was 2000 precisely before the Nativity.

An adequate time will be thus assigned, for the interval between the call of Abraham on leaving Ur, when he was 75 years old, and the Promise, given on leaving Charan, where it appears he had sojourned a considerable time: Gen. xii. 7. Act. vii. 4. Instead of the 5 years which are sometimes allowed to that time; (Simson. Chron. p. 21. c. Leidek. Rep. Hebr. vol. i. p. 45. d.) if 7 be computed; the date of Abram's birth will be thrown back to the B. C. 2004. without interfering with the 430 years computed by St. Paul between the Law and the Promise: supr. n. on p. 31. l. 27.

Some intimation of this extension of the time, between the departure of Abram from Ur and from Charan, appears to be conveyed in the scriptural account, that the patriarch, on entering Canaan, raised and dedicated an altar: Gen. xii. 7. This solemn act of religion the patriarchs were accustomed to perform only in a sabbatical year: Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 22. seq. The Promise, however, being referred to the year B. C. 1922, vid. supr. n. on p. 31. l. 5: the call from Ur must be referred, according to the preceding computation, to the year B. C. 1929. J. P. 2785. As the following year was sabbatical from autumn, the result is thus found to coincide with the statement of the sacred history, in representing the patriarch, as having at that time, raised the altar at Bethel. It must be, however, observed that to justify the preceding interpretation, it would be necessary, that for מחרן 'from Charan,' we should read מאור 'from Ur,' Gen. xii. 4. On admitting which correction, the difficulty which has been found in reconciling that passage with Act. vii. 4. would be removed effectually: conf. De Dieu n. in loc.

The year B. C. 2004, is easily shewn, from the patriarchal genealogies, to have agreed with A. M. 2000. From the Creation to the birth of Terah there were 1878 years; Leidek. Rep. Heb. vol. i. p. 179. Usser. Annal. p. i. p. 6. As Terah lived 205 years, his death occurred A. M. 2083. Leidek. ib. Usser. ib.

On assuming, that Abram, was 75 when leaving Ur, and that he sojourned 7 years, at Charan; on deducting the sum amounting to 82 years, the remainder identifies, in A. M. 2001, then commencing, the time of Abram's nativity.

According to the received opinion, however, that Abram's birth took place A. M. 2008, B. C. 1996, Usser. ibid. p. 6, it equally appears, that there were 4000 years between the creation and the nativity: Conf. Usser. ib. p. ii. p. 531.

P. 308. l. 19. Comp. n. on. p. 307. l. 12.

P. 309. l. 15. See n. on p. 21. l. 12. p. 36. l. 22. conf. De Dieu n. in Act. vii. 43. p. 72.

Ibid. l. 21. See Treat. on Millen. p. 7. seq.

P. 310. l. 6. The Christian fathers have, with almost one consent, agreed, in deducing, from the analogy of the sabbath, the prospect of the great sabbatism, generally termed the Millennium. The apostolical fathers take the lead, among whom St. Barnabas delivers himself in the following terms: *Προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει· τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι συντελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς Κύριος ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τὰ πάντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χιλία ἔτη. καὶ ἐ.* Epist. c. 15. In this opinion he is followed by Irenæus, Hippolytus, Origen, Athanasius, Hilary, Augustine, Jerome, and others. Their views on this subject may be expressed in the words of the last cited father: "Ego arbitror ex hoc loco, et ex Epistolâ, quæ nomine Petri Apostoli inscribitur, mille annos, pro unâ die solitos appellari; ut scilicet, quia mundus in sex diebus fabricatus est, sex millibus annorum tantùm credatur subsistere, et postea venire septenarium numerum et octanarium, in quo verus exercetur Sabbatismus, et circumcisionis puritas reddetur." Hier. Ep. ad Cyprian.

Ibid. l. 16. Ibid. p. 8. 11.

P. 311. l. 25. See p. 36. Comp. n. on p. 21. l. 12. n. on p. 37. l. 16.

P. 312. l. 7. See Treat. on Millen. p. 91. seq.

Ibid. l. 23. See Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. p. i. p. 21—28.

P. 313. l. 10. The following account is given by Cappel of this period, which he terms a great Prophetical year. "Cleruchia autem fuit illis veluti gratissima quædam quies a labore suo, et ab operosâ illâ culturâ. Missi sunt autem in possessionem terræ

illius præcisè post 365 annorum hebdomadas, hoc est in fine Anni veluti Sacri cujusdam et Magni, qui nimirum constat tot annorum hebdomadibus, quot Solaris annus constat diebus : nam ut dierum Hebdomas est veluti dies quidam sacer, semper in se recurrens, sic annorum hebdomas est veluti Annus quidem Sacer, itidem in se semper recurrens. Itaque spatium annorum 2555, quod constat 365 hebdomadibus annorum est veluti Annus quidam Magnus Propheticus et divinus, in cujus fine Deus populum suum misit in possessionem terræ ipsi promissæ, quietemque illi dedit ab antecedentibus laboribus suis, non secus atque homines toto anno laborant, et vacant culturæ terræ ac tandem in fine anni, messe et vindemiâ peractâ, collectisque terræ frugibus, iis quiete fruentur. Vel si libet cuilibet calculum aliter constituere et Annum Magnum, tot velit constare annis, quot annus solaris constat diebus, nempe 365, invenietur sic ab orbe condito ad possessam terram Chanaan, Anni Magni septem, singuli constantes 365 annis. Sic nempé fuerit ab orbe condito ad possessam illam terram Hebdomas integra Annorum Magnorum, quorum singuli constat tot annis, quot annus constat diebus, scilicet 365, id quod maximam Dei sapientiam redolere videtur." Chron. Sacr. p. 9. d. ed Polygl. The difficulty, here stated, is however, cleared; and the principles, on which this Great Period depends, are discoverable in the explanation already given of the mode of computing *years*, by numbering merely the new-years' days : vid. supr. n. on p. 62. l. 5. p. 150. l. 3. In the present instance, the sabbatical nature of the term rendered the computation peculiarly apposite, which was effected by numbering merely the sabbatical years, or the sabbaths which formed their new-years' days. As each year of the sabbatical cycle commenced on a different day of the week; the sabbatical years alone commenced upon Saturday. Of new-years' days, which thus opened the seventh or sacred years with the sabbath, there were precisely 365—or as many as there are days in the year,—in the Great Sabbatical Period determined by Cappel.

It must be, however, observed, that the entrance into the promised rest occurred in A. M. 2559 : according to the chronological system of Ussher, which is followed in the present discussion. But of the four years, by which this date exceeds that computed

by Cappel, an account is easily rendered, on the principles developed: Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. p. ii. p. 302. n. 55 and 56. As the sun and moon did not appear in the heavens until the fourth day, Gen. i. 16. 19: the *first* year of the world having consequently had its new-year's day upon Wednesday: the *fourth* was the first year which had its new-year's day on the sabbath. Of consequence the series of sabbatical cycles properly commenced with A. M. 5. On deducing the 4 preceding years from the era of the world; the conclusion of Cappel regularly follows.

P. 313. l. 13. The typical character of Joshua, as prefiguring the ministry of Jesus, has been minutely traced by Bishop Pearson, On Creed. Art. ii. p. 113—124. 8vo. Oxf.

Ibid. l. 26. See Assyr. Expec. of a Gr. Deliver. p. 171. seq. Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. p. 36.

P. 314. l. 6. On the Great Year of the Chaldees: vid. ibid. p. 157. n. comp. Trans. R. S. L. vol. iii. p. i. p. 31—36. In explanation of this Great Cycle, of which the Israelites acquired a knowledge during the Captivity, it will suffice to observe here, that it originated, in the custom of neglecting the intercalary days, until they amounted to 30, and then inserting a month in the year: and in like manner, proceeding to insert 12 months in succession. As it requires 4 years to complete an intercalary *day*; it requires 30 times that time, i. e. $4\times30=120$ years, to perfect an intercalary *month*. Twelve times the latter period, i. e. $12\times120=1440$ years, were consequently necessary to complete the great cycle of the Chaldeans.

Ibid. l. 20. The entrance of the Israelites into the Promised Land has been already referred to J. P. 3270: vid. supr. n. on p. 31. l. 2. On adding the Great Cycle of the Chaldees, amounting to 1440 years, we arrive at J. P. 4710, which expresses the true year of the Nativity. Conf. Usser. Annal. p. i. p. 41. p. ii. p. 531. On adding, in like manner, to the same date, half the Great Cycle, or 720 years; we arrive at J. P. 3990 in which Salmanasar overran the kingdom of Israel; previously to the abduction of the ten tribes into captivity: vid. Usser. ibid. p. i. p. 98.

It should be, however, observed, with reference to what is

stated supr. n. to 313. l. 10. that the epoch of the entrance into the land of Promise is properly computed from the *beginning* of the sabbatical year; which took place in the autumn of J. P. 3269: and that of the Nativity is dated from the close of J. P. 4709: comp. supr. n. on p. 221. l. 12. Between these dates, the Great Year of the Chaldees, amounting to 1440 years, precisely intervened.

It is not improbable, that the Magi, who visited Jerusalem, at the Nativity, were aided in computing the time of it, by this great cycle of the Chaldeans. The prophecy of Balaam, by which they were directed, was delivered but a short time previously to the establishment of the Israelites in Canaan. And the Great Year, on the conversion of which they expected the restitution of all things, had its beginning determined by the rising of particular stars. These few desultory observations will serve to illustrate the incidents detailed in Matt. ii. 1. 2: and the incidents, thus illustrated, furnish some evidence, that the inferences which have been deduced, in the text, from the Chaldee Great Year, do not rest on an imaginary foundation.

P. 316. l. 14. Pearson ut supr. p. 113. 114.

Ibid. l. 27. Id. ibid. p. 123.

P. 320. l. 7. Of the events which distinguished the opening of the *fourth* millennium from the creation, the following description is given by Ussher; ad. A. M. 3001. J. P. 3710. "Jubilæus nonus, quartum mundi seculum aperiens; in quo, Templi Encœnia magnificè a Salomone celebrata sunt. Congregatis enim ad eum omnibus Israëlitis, mense septimo qui Ethanim dictus est, Arca Sione in adytum, Tabernaculum ac vasa sacra Gibeone in thesaurum Templi deducta sunt. Ubi, quum Deus præsentiæ suæ signum aspectabile edidisset; Salomon in suggesto æneo flexis genibus conceptas ad Deum preces effudit. Populo deinde benedicens, boum 22 millia, ovium 120 sacrificavit, atque ita festo dedicationis altaris septem diebus, et festo Tabernaculorum aliis diebus septem, et octavo Tabernaculorum die celebrato: die demùm mensis septimi 23° populus in tentoria sua dimissus est. [1 Reg. viii. 1. 2—65. 66. 2 Chron. v. 3. 4. 5. vi. vii. 8. 9. 10.] Annal. p. i. p. 58." From the dedication of the temple by Solomon, Petavius also computes the interval of 1000 years precisely

to the nativity of the Messiah. Ration. Temp. p. ii. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 89. b.

P. 318. l. 13. Vid. Cramer. Theol. Israel. p. ii. p. 342. d. seq.

P. 320. l. 27. The dedication of the temple having been referred, by Ussher, to J. P. 3710: the presentation of our Lord, in the temple, is referred, by him, to J. P. 4710, at the distance of 1000 years precisely: "Die post partum quadragesimo Maria Hierosolymam ad Templum accessit, tum ut filium Jesum ibi sisteret Domino, secundùm legem de Primogenitis; tum ut pro seipsâ offerret par turturum, aut duos pullos columbarum, (eâ conditionis ipsius paupertate existente, ut non posset agnum afferre) secundùm legem de puerperarum Purificatione. [Luc. ii. 22. 23. 24. 27. cum Levitic. xii. 2. 3. 4. 6. 8.]" Annal. p. ii. p. 532. conf. supr. n. on p. 221. l. 12. and 19.

P. 322. l. 5. The spiritual temple, by which the earthly and temporal structure was to be superseded, is intimated in the sacred writers: 1 Pet. ii. 4. 5. 6. Eph. ii. 20. 21. 22. The Apostolical Fathers allude to it and describe the manner of its edification: vid. Barnab. Epist. c. 16. Nor are allusions to the same subject unknown to the Rabbinical writers: vid. Cramer. Theol. Israel. lib. ii. c. 3. §. 9. p. i. p. 238.

Ibid. l. 16. The expressive image of the Evangelist derives considerable illustration from the following passage of Cramer; "Schechinam putem hanc *Symbolum Dei Filii* existitisse, fatentibus etiam priscis Hebræis, pluribus diximus, Diss. in Exod. xxiii. cap. iv. et v. Is namque, qui columnâ Nubis et Ignis vectus est, Deus Jehova à S. Scriptura appellatur: 'Et descendit Jehova in Nube.' Numer. xii. 5. Exod. xxxiii. 9. 11. 12. Numer. ix. 17. 18. 19. seq. et alibi. Jehova autem hic 'Israelis Rex, viæ Dux, Angelus Faciei, Angelus in cujus medio nomen Jehovæ est audit,' quæ singulariter Filio, non Patri conveniunt. Ipse Filius est λόγος Sermo, Imago Patris, Mediator destinatus qui populum Dei præceptis formare, erudire, protegere et deducere debuit. Johannes quoque digitum ad שכינה intendit, quando scribit, λόγος 'Sermonem habitasse inter nos,' Johan. i. 14. neque שכינה et σκήνωσις ipsis literis magnoperè differunt." Diss. in Is. xxx. 20. §. 31. p. 343. The observations of Burnet, on the same subject, are not less striking and apposite: "Atque ut hæc finiam, ad-

jicere libet, Gloriam Dei, quæ dicitur ab Hebræis Shechinah, et est præsentia Dei Majestativa, habere semper speciem Lucis, flammæ, aut candentis nubis, ut in Itinere ex Ægypto, et in Sancto Sanctorum; eadémque res quæ dicitur Gloria Dei, dicitur etiam Nubes, vel Nubes lucida: Num. xii. 5. et xvi. 19. 42. Mat. xvii. 5. cum 2 Pet. i. 17. Multisque aliis in locis, in utroque fœdere, patet, Gloriam Dei, vel gloriosam ipsius præsentiam, materiâ aliquâ lucidâ flammeâ, aut candenti exhiberi. Erat autem hujus gloriæ divinæ, *hujusce Shechinah, eximium habitaculum Corpus Christi*, et quasi *Sanctum Sanctorum in quo hæc gloria clariùs elucebat*. Ad quod etiam sæpiùs alludi solet ab authoribus sacris, Joh. i. 14. Hebr. ix. 11. Apoc. xxi. 3." De Stat. Mort. c. 7. p. 180.

P. 323. l. 24. The historical fact of the institution of the sacred college, and the date of it, is attested by Platina, in his life of Pope Gregory V.: "E veggendo l' imbecillità dell' Imperio, e la varietà del mondo, perche presso Germani più di lungo la dignità dell' Imperio restasse, e perche a chi più degno ne fusse, questa dignità si desse, fece con volontà d' Othone un decreto, che i Germani soli dovessero elegger colui, che Cesare, e Re de Romani prima chiamandosi, fusse poi Imperatore e Augusto, se il Pontefice Romano lo confermasse. *Fu questo decreto* sopra l' elettione dell' Imperator fatto *mil. anno della salute nostra*, e fino alla hoggi si osserva. Scrive Tolomeo, che quelli che hebbero prima questa dignità d' elegger l' Imperator, furono l' Arcivescovo di Maguntia in nome della Germania, l' arcivescovo di Treveri in nome di Francia, e l' Arcivescovo di Colonia in nome d' Italia. A questi aggiunsero quattro Principi secolari, che furono il Marchese di Brandeburgo, che è camariero dell' eletto Imperatore; il Conte Palatino, che porta le vivande in tavola, e il Duca di Sassonia che li porta la spada; e il Re di Boemia, che fu il settimo elettore e aggiunto a gli altri, perche ritrovandoli discordi in questa elettione, ad una delle parti inchinando, li quietasse: e il suo ufficio fu di dare a bere all' Imperatore. Vogliono che Francesi assai di questo decreto si dissentissero. Ma perche era la prosapia di Carlo Magno in Lodovico figliuolo di Lothario estinta, e n'era quel regno venuto in mano d' Ugo cognominato Capuccio, ò Ciappetta che chiamano;

si restarono i Francesi di ripetere queste ragioni dell' Imperio trasferite a Germani; tanto più, che contento il novello Re del mutato stato, e non parendoli di ritrovarsi il più ben fermo nel regno, non si curò di fare altramente delle ragioni dell' Imperio motto." Histor. delle vit. di Pontif. p. 119. The controversy between the Italian and German princes, for the honor of giving a head to the empire has brought this account into discredit. The following observations of Muratori, in which the force of the objection is admitted, fully account for the scepticism which has been indulged on this subject: " Postremum diem obiit Otto III. sine prole Anno MII. sub quo apud eruditos jam firmatum est, minimè institutum fuisse Collegium Septemvirale Electorum Imperii, ut proximè præteritis sæculis vulgò reputatum est. Ottone ergo fatis functo, inter Italicos principes eodem Anno MII. ingens animorum contentio ac divisio emersit de Successore eligendo. Pars una sibi Arduinum Eporediæ Marchionem præfecit, altera Henricum II. Germaniæ regem, qui cælitum postea albo inscriptus est. Illud exploratum habemus utrumque non nisi per electionem Italicorum principum, Regni hujus titulo ac ditione auctum fuisse." Antiq. Ital. tom. i. p. 88. c. In this statement the fact of an election is fully conceded; the authority arrogated over it by the Pope appears from the following admission of the same learned antiquary. " Ita ad Imperialem quoque thronum quæsitum quidem fuisse videtur jus aliquod Principibus e Caroli sanguine procreatis; sed ut ejusmodi jus compleretur, necessaria simul fuit electio ac designatio populorum, hoc est ut vulgò aiunt Statuum, ac præcipuè Romani Pontificis." Id. ibid. p. 78. e. Dissert. iii. de Imp. Rom. ac Reg. Ital. e. The conclusion of Bower appears, therefore, to be sufficiently warranted by the fact; that " the same year [A. D. 996.] Gregory held a council at Rome consisting chiefly of Italian Bishops; and in this Council the Electoral College is said to have been instituted by the Pope and the Emperor, who was present at it in person." The sum of the objection to this statement, which he deduces from the instances of the election of Conrad and Lotharius, amounts to nothing more than is admitted in the concession, " that *the number* of Electors was not, till long after this Pope's time, confined to seven." Lives of Popes, vol. v. p. 133.

P. 324. l. 12. From the authorities cited in n. on p. 322. l. 5. it must be inferred, that there is no Temple but the Church, since the destruction of that of Jerusalem. Nor is it disputed, that however grossly corrupted, that of Rome is a true Church. In the assumption of the regal and pontifical office, which is the inalienable prerogative of Christ; as well as the appropriation of the adoration, which is due to God alone; the Popes, as 'Vicars of Christ' continue to fulfil the prediction: see Treat. on Millen. p. 71. seq. Newton on Proph. vol. ii. p. 13. 114. Nimrod, or Disc. on Hist. and Fab. vol. iii. p. 508.

A statement of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, which fix upon it the charge of Antichristian impiety, may be seen in Treat. on Millen. p. 64. seq. Were the shallow sophistry admitted, by which the imputation of *idolatry* would be defended: there would be no possibility of substantiating the charge against the pagan world, or of proving that it was prohibited, as a sin, in Scripture. The enlightened heathen was no more disposed, than the informed papist, to admit, that he considered the *image* a god, before which he bent in veneration. The command of God, is, on the other hand, express, that we "shall not make unto ourselves *the likeness* [image] of any thing *in heaven*, or in earth, and bow ourselves down before it."

THE END.

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